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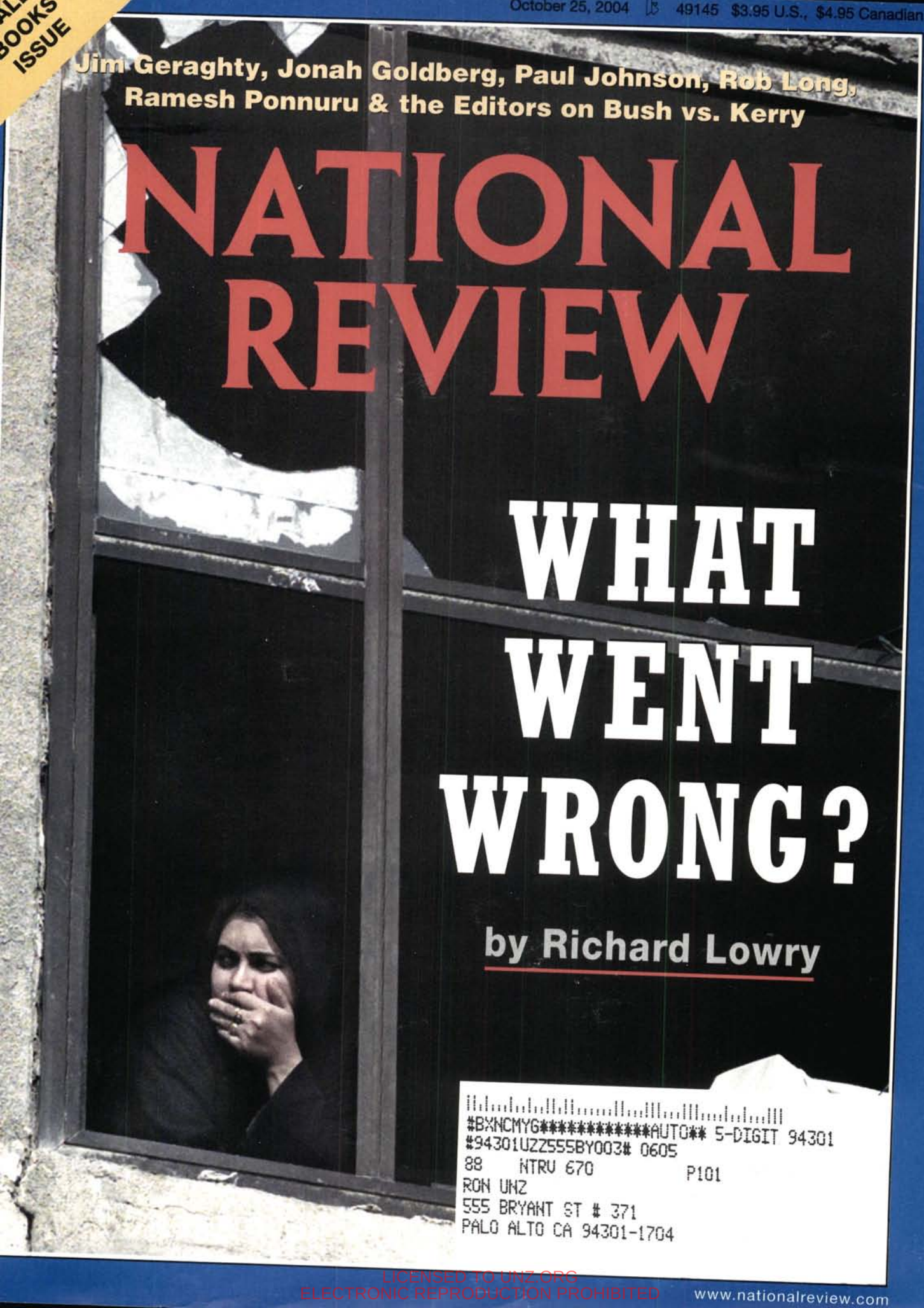
BOOKS ISSUE

Jim Geraghty, Jonah Goldberg, Paul Johnson, Rob Long, Ramesh Ponnuru & the Editors on Bush vs. Kerry

NATIONAL REVIEW

WHAT WENT WRONG?

by Richard Lowry



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OCTOBER 25, 2004 VOL. LVI, NO. 20

NATIONAL REVIEW

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What Went Wrong?

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The story of the Iraq post-war is, in part, a tale of gross intelligence failures, debilitating intramural battles, miscommunications, unintended consequences, and counterproductive half-measures. Some of these missteps were the result of the inevitable uncertainties and surprises of warfare, others of incompetence, and many of something in between. *By Richard Lowry*

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letters to the editor

A PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

As the president of Borders Books & Music stores worldwide, I read with disappointment Jay Nordlinger's piece "Little Suppressors" (Sept. 27) and would like to take this opportunity to respond.

First, let me apologize to any customer of a Borders store who feels they have been improperly treated by any member of our staff. The vast majority of Borders employees are helpful, knowledgeable people who are passionate about great customer service. Our stores are recognized worldwide for offering a deep and diverse title base representing a wide range of thought, and our employees do their best to meet the needs of every customer they serve.

Borders is absolutely apolitical. We take no stance whatsoever and for more than 30 years have remained committed to our customers' right to choose what to read and what to buy.

We take great measures to communicate this to our employees and to emphasize the importance of not expressing political viewpoints while at work in our stores. In fact, this political season, I have personally communicated strongly to all employees that political expression is not appropriate in the workplace. That said, we have 32,000 employees worldwide and it is challenging to manage the actions of each individual.

This includes postings on websites (such as the Borders Employee Union Web Site) that have no association with our company.

I want to assure you that Borders has no evidence that our employees have diverted or destroyed inventory of any title in our stores. This type of behavior would not be tolerated under any circumstances. Should we become aware of specific actions by specific individuals, we will certainly take appropriate disciplinary action.

Vin Altruda
Ann Arbor, Mich.

STOMACH

John O'Sullivan asks ("Tall Order," Sept. 27) whether the United States has the political cohesion to wage a long war in Iraq. Militant Muslims believe in the justice of their cause. After one to three generations of multiculturalism, blaming America first, and moral relativism, how many Americans believe in the justice of theirs? The culture—and the Democratic party—are dominated by people who came of age opposing the Vietnam War. Now they get to relive their glory days. Does the Vietnam Generation have any more stomach or staying power for this twilight struggle than it had in the '60s?

The present political climate suggests that the latest American tactical innovation is the circular firing squad.

Evan Duncan
Alexandria, Va.

ABC (C IS FOR CHOMSKY)

The summer is over and now it's back to the college grind. One professor recently asked who was going to win the November elections. After resounding applause for Kerry, the entire room broke out into hissing noises when Bush's name was mentioned. In another class, we began the semester watching a video by Noam Chomsky, explaining—not arguing—the conservative bias (!) in the media. As I sat through it, I clutched my latest issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. NR keeps me grounded in reality and gives me the strength and knowledge to hold true to my principles in this hostile environment. Thank you.

Jamie Galbraith
Vancouver, B.C.

CORRECTION

A book review in the Sept. 27 issue by Ron Capshaw ("Inside the Left") incorrectly stated that Barnard College has an endowed chair named for Alger Hiss. The reference should have been to Bard College—which has an Alger Hiss professorship in social studies.

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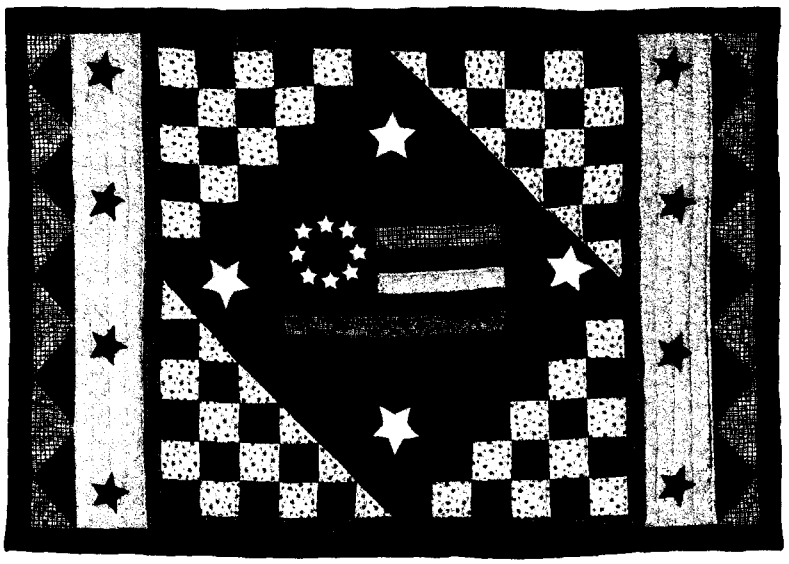

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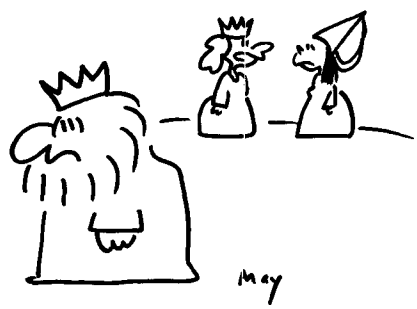

"He was rejected for membership by the Allies and the Axis of Evil."

■ In *The Hotline*'s survey of state polls, President **Bush** leads in 31 states worth 291 electoral votes and **John Kerry** leads in 15 states worth 185 electoral votes (270 needed to win). . . . CNN/*USA Today* poll: Bush 49 percent, Kerry 47 percent, **Ralph Nader** 1 percent. . . . Among Nader supporters, 50 percent prefer Bush and 48 percent choose Kerry. . . . Bush on debates: "It's been a little tough to prepare because [Kerry] keeps changing positions on the War on Terror. . . . He could probably spend 90 minutes debating himself." . . . Bush, on Fox News: "I believe Muslims yearn to be free. And this is tough. Look, no question it's tough times. But if we send mixed signals, if we waver, the times will be tougher. That's what the terrorists are watching, they're watching us like hawks." . . . Secretary of state **Colin Powell** on Iraq, on *Meet the Press*: "It's getting worse. And the reason it's getting worse is that they are determined to disrupt the election. They do not want the Iraqi people to vote for their own leaders in a free, democratic election. And because it's getting worse, we will have to increase our efforts to defeat it, not walk away and pray and hope for something else to happen." . . . Bush, in first debate: "A free Iraq will be an ally in the War on Terror, and that's essential. A free Iraq will set a powerful example in the part of the world that is desperate for freedom. A free Iraq will help secure Israel. A free Iraq will enforce the hopes and aspirations of the reformers in places like Iran. A free Iraq is essential for the security of this country."

■ Iraqi prime minister **Ayad Allawi**, in address to Congress: "We Iraqis are grateful to you, America, for your leadership and your sacrifice for our liberation and our opportunity to start anew. . . . Your decision to go to war in Iraq was not an easy one but it was the right one. There are no words that can express the debt of gratitude that future generations of Iraqis will owe to Americans. It would have been easy to have turned your back on our plight, but this is not the tradition of this great country." . . . Kerry spokesman **Joe Lockhart** on Allawi, in *Los Angeles Times*: "The last thing you want to be seen as is a puppet of the United States, and you can almost see the hand underneath the shirt today moving the lips."

■ Kerry, on ABC: "We should not have gone to war knowing the information that we know today." . . . House minority leader **Nancy Pelosi** (D., Calif.): "This war has been a grotesque mistake that has diminished our reputation in the world and has not made America safer." . . . Sen. **Ted Kennedy** (D., Mass.): "The president's handling of the war has been a toxic mix of ignorance, arrogance, and stubborn ideology. . . . If this election is decided on the question of whether America is safer because of President George Bush, John Kerry will win in a landslide." . . . **Diana Kerry**, leader of Americans Overseas for Kerry and sister of candidate, on whether Bush presidency risks Australian lives: "I would have to say that. . . . We are endangering the Australians now by this wanton disregard for international law and multilateral channels." . . . Kerry on preemptive military action: "You have to do it in a way that passes the test, that passes the global test."

■ In Senate races, Democrats anticipate victory in Illinois and Republicans are confident in Georgia. . . . Toss-up races include Alaska, Colorado, Florida, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and South Dakota. . . . Louisiana contest probably will require Dec. 4 runoff, between Rep. **David Vitter** (R.) and the Democrat. . . . In Wisconsin, Republicans say **Tim Michels** (R.) is dark-horse candidate to upset Sen. **Russ Feingold** (D.). . . . In Sioux Falls *Argus Leader* poll, Sen. **Tom Daschle** (D.) leads **John Thune** (R.), 50 percent to 45 percent. . . . GOP poll of Oklahoma voters: Rep. **Brad Carson** (D.) 44 percent, **Tom Coburn** (R.) 39 percent. . . . Sen. **Lincoln Chafee** (R., R.I.) says he won't vote for Bush, but may write in Bush 41's name on ballot. . . . *Washingtonian* publishes results of annual Hill staffer survey. Meanest senator: **Arlen Specter** (R., Pa.); biggest Senate windbag: **Robert Byrd** (D., W.V.).

■ X-rated film industry partisans release "Porn for Kerry DVD," with proceeds earmarked for Kerry's use in swing states, according to *New York Post*. . . . *Newsweek* polls under-30 voters: Kerry 45 percent, Bush 44 percent, Nader 6 percent. . . . Spray-on tanning products CEO **Cynthia House**, in *New York Sun*: "Kerry's tan is temporary—just like people say his opinions are." . . . Rep. **Charles Rangel** (D., N.Y.), on *Meet the Press*: "We don't windsurf in Harlem."

■ *Der Spiegel* reports that Kerry adviser **Richard Holbrooke** promised German chancellor **Gerhard Schroeder** that he and French president **Jacques Chirac** will be first foreign leaders invited to White House. . . . British prime minister **Tony Blair**: "I can apologize for the information that turned out to be wrong, but I can't, sincerely at least, apologize for removing **Saddam**. The world is a better place with Saddam in prison, not in power." . . . North Korea says it will turn Japan into "nuclear sea of fire" if U.S. attacks. . . . Colin Powell holds talks with **Abdurahman Shalgam**, marking first time in more than 25 years U.S. secretary of state has met with Libyan foreign minister.

■ **Conan O'Brien**: "CBS has been receiving a lot of e-mails calling to fire **Dan Rather**. In fact the only people that want him on the air are **Tom Brokaw** and **Peter Jennings**." . . . **David Letterman**: "Before I begin, I just have to warn you, CBS cannot vouch for the authenticity of these jokes." **NR**

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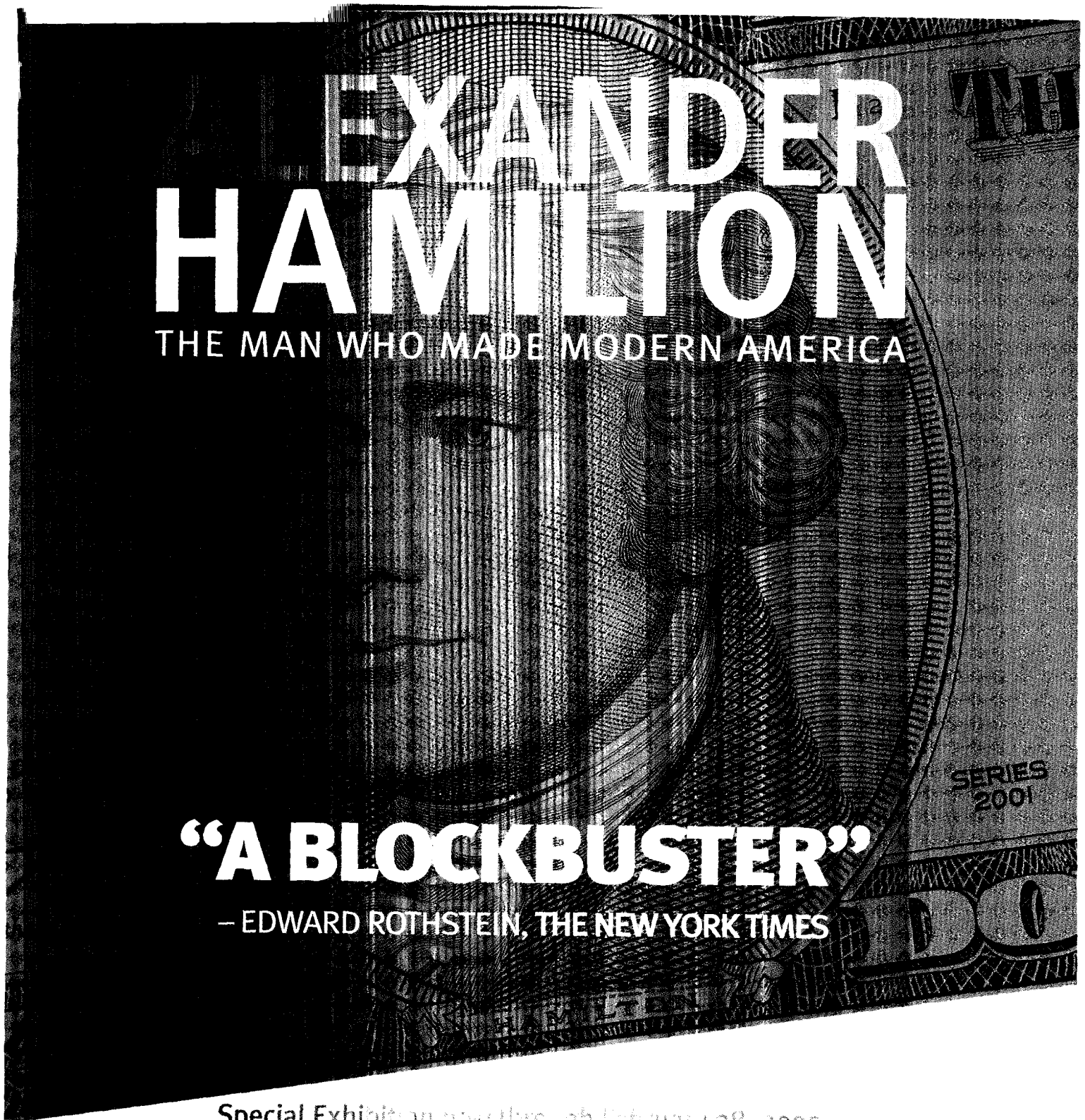

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– EDWARD ROTHSTEIN, THE NEW YORK TIMES

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THE WEEK

■ Can't we have a debate with Teresa, please?

■ Three thousand soldiers of the 1st Infantry Division and 2,000 Iraqis took the city of Samarra in the Sunni triangle, profiting from lessons learned in the recent battle for Najaf by eschewing a go-slow strategy. "We just came out of a defensive position into an offensive position," said Iraq's interior minister Falah al-Naqib. Let us hope he is right. Americans and Iraqis aim to retake Ramadi, Fallujah, and the Sadr City neighborhood of Baghdad before January's elections. American skill and firepower can guarantee these victories. Securing them with Iraqi troops will be harder. Hardest of all is to stop the flow of terrorists from Syria, where surviving Iraqi Baathists have gone to ground, and Iran, which labors to destabilize its neighbor. We appear to have plans to accomplish tasks one and two. What of three?

■ The vice-presidential debate featured two political pros, neither of whom was knocked off his stride for very long. Partisans on both sides are satisfied with their man's performance—which, for the Republicans, represented an improvement on the first presidential debate. Dick Cheney hit John Kerry for his poor foreign-policy judgment, his political opportunism on Iraq, and his vote against funds for the troops. John Edwards did not have much of a response. But Edwards threw a lot of charges against the administration, and Cheney left too many of them unanswered altogether. Cheney did not defend the administration's post-war planning in Iraq, its record on combat pay, or its decisions in Tora Bora. Edwards accused Bush of trying to amend the Constitution for low political reasons, and Cheney was silent. Calm and cool are fine, when appropriate. All in all, we think Cheney came out the winner from the debate. But we fear that Bush and Cheney are operating on the assumption that many of the accusations against them are too ridiculous to deserve a response. Perhaps many of them would be in some ideal world, but it is not the world of this election.

■ In between denunciations of the president for valuing allies insufficiently, John Kerry relishes sticking the knife in the ones we have. After Iraqi prime minister Ayad Allawi addressed Congress, this is what Kerry adviser Joe Lockhart had to say: "The last thing you want to be seen as is a puppet of the United States, and you can almost see the hand underneath the shirt today moving the lips." This is what Allawi gets for risking death every day to be our ally. Democrats are enraged whenever a Republican even hints that their conduct is undermining the war effort. If they do not wish to face that accusation, perhaps they should stop proving its truth.

■ When Richard Holbrooke, Kerry's shadow secretary of state, went to Berlin in June to chat up Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, he said one of a President Kerry's first actions would be to invite Schroeder and Jacques Chirac to the White House. Schroeder reportedly laughed and said, "That's what I was afraid of." He was afraid, that is, that Kerry would ask for help. At least Schroeder was candid. Last month, he dotted the i's. "We won't send any German soldiers to Iraq, and that's where it's going to remain." French foreign minister Michel Barnier noted that France had no plans to send troops "either now or later." Kerry flunks his first global test.

ROMAN GENN

■ The author in his work, said Flaubert, should be like God in the universe: everywhere present, but nowhere visible. In the matter of candidates' wives, Teresa Heinz Kerry cleaves to the first part of this principle, though not, alas, the second. When it was suggested to Mrs. Kerry recently that shoring up the women's vote is where she comes in, the lady begged to differ: "No, that's not where I come in. I come in everywhere. I come in on foreign policy. . . . You know what? I talk about life. It affects men and women; it affects children and the future of our country." Oh, that's what life does?

■ The Democrats' resort to scaremongering and race-baiting about the GOP's alleged ballot-rigging in 2000 (and 2004) makes an unwholesome sight. Now Jimmy Carter—masquerading as an impartial observer of American politics—

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THE WEEK...

has weighed in with an op-ed in the *Washington Post* explaining why there won't be a fair Florida vote this November. (This, from the man who recently approved President Hugo Chávez's dubious victory and said the rotten 1996 Palestinian election "accurately expressed" the "will of the Palestinian voters.") As U.S. Civil Rights commissioner Peter Kirsanow observed, Carter "recycles many of the usual myths" of the 2000 election, but adds "some subtle twists." Glenda Hood, Florida's secretary of state, caught him out in several factual errors and evasions. The Democratic tenet that Florida was "fixed" cannot die, so useful is it as a rhetorical weapon against the president. Expect to hear a lot more about "voter intimidation," "stolen ballots," "black disenfranchisement," and so forth from Democrats—unless, of course, John Kerry happens to win. Same goes for abolishing the Electoral College.

■ At a townhall meeting at Emory University, Jimmy Carter said his favorite movies were *Casablanca* and *Fahrenheit 9/11*. The obvious and the dishonest: What else would you expect from Carter? But let's think what sort of a movie Michael Moore would have made in 1942, the year of *Casablanca*. Footage of Roosevelt trying to maneuver his wheelchair . . . Churchill in his cups . . . a weeping mother whose son had died at Midway . . . Hitler Youth practicing their woodcraft . . . Moore couldn't have used any shameful ex-presidents, though, as Herbert Hoover supported the war effort.

■ Karl Rove recently noted that Republicans have tended not to run ads on black radio stations. One organization, America's PAC, is doing something about that, with a series of hard-hitting ads narrated by businessman-turned-politician Herman Cain. John Lewis, the congressman and civil-rights warhorse, is not pleased. The ads, he says, "are a deliberate, systematic effort to try to discourage African-American voters from turning out and voting. . . . The whole idea is to confuse people and raise doubts in their minds." That statement needs to be amended: The ads are a deliberate, systematic attempt to dissuade African-American voters from turning out and voting *for Democrats*. We take the risk that dueling political ads will "confuse" white voters. Black voters (and Hispanic voters, to whom the PAC is also making a pitch) should also be exposed to competing viewpoints—even, or especially, if it means that some of them will fail to follow their interests as defined by Rep. John Lewis.

■ He's got a lot of competition, but Sen. Ernest "Fritz" Hollings, the South Carolina Democrat, just may be the meanest man in American politics. You may recall a debate in the 1984 presidential primaries. Hollings thought that Reuben Askew, the former Florida governor, had misquoted him on something. Barked Hollings, "You got a tic in your ear, too." (Askew had a facial twitch.) More recently, Hollings has been calling George W. Bush a draft dodger, as in, "We're defending a Silver Star recipient against a damned draft dodger." First, Bush is certainly not a draft dodger. But second, don't you think Democrats should keep sort of mum on the draft-dodger business, considering their two presidential nominations of the '90s? (Oh, and third: Senator Hollings—who is retiring in January—can't retire soon enough.)

■ John Kerry is claiming that President Bush's Social Security reform would cut benefits for retirees by 45 percent. Now, if there is one thing we know with metaphysical certainty about a second Bush term, it is that the president will not propose cuts in retirees' benefits—or even in future retirees' benefits. Nor, if the president were so inclined, is there the remotest chance that Congress would go along. Kerry gets his figure by assuming, first, that private investment of Social Security funds would yield no higher return than the current system and, second, that Bush wishes to save Social Security entirely through benefit cuts. These are not realistic assumptions. Kerry also argues that personal investment accounts would be a windfall to Wall Street, which would administer them. But Kerry ignores the example of the federal employees' Thrift Savings Plan, the model for most Social Security reformers. Administrative costs in the TSP are low, and government agencies collect most of them. Bottom line: There is no reason to expect draconian budget cuts, a massive windfall for Wall Street, or honesty about entitlements from the Kerry campaign.

■ A majority of the House voted for the Federal Marriage Amendment. The amendment did not get the supermajority necessary to amend the Constitution. But the vote, along with referenda in Louisiana, Missouri, and elsewhere, made it clear that if courts proceed to impose same-sex marriage, they will be doing so over the objections of the public. The battle will have to be carried into a new Congress next year. When Congress again takes up the issue, let's hope it is not distracted by the bogus questions that erstwhile conservative stalwart Chris Cox raised about the issue. On the day of the debate, Representative Cox became the Republican whom liberals most liked to quote, for he had published an op-ed against the amendment. Now, conservatives can oppose the amendment for various reasons. But Cox's argument was a far cry from the crisp logic we expect from him. He suggested, in passing, that marriage law should be left to the states. But he hardly addressed the fear that inspired the proposal for an amendment in the first place: namely, that a series of state judicial edicts was preparing the ground for the federal courts to impose same-sex marriage nationally, without a vote of the peo-

TWO SHARPIES

Paris and Berlin both get
Upset when Iraqi debt
Comes up; Baghdad owes a bunch,
So these two are "out to lunch"
When the IMF calls, or
Washington becomes a bore:
That's when they start kicking shins.
Don't look for forgiving grins.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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Monster in Our Backyard

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HOOVER
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LEVIATHAN
The Growth of Local Government and the Erosion of Liberty

Clint Bolick

In *Leviathan* reowned public interest attorney Bolick describes how the unchecked growth of local governments is eroding our nation's productive vitality and threatening us with "grassroots tyranny"—and tells what we can do about it.
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Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Bill Clinton famously proclaimed that "the era of big government is over." He was wrong: it just moved to the suburbs. State and local governments now dwarf the national government. Fully 86 percent of civilian government employees work for state and local entities. That translates into 46 million Americans who either work for local governments or depend on someone who does.

By long-standing tradition, Americans prefer their government to be close to home, where ostensibly we can control it. We've got half our wish: most government is local, but it is out of control. Local governments are multiplying like rabbits, at a rate of one new entity added each day. They operate the schools our children attend, determine the uses of our property, and tax us at a higher rate than the national government.

It wasn't supposed to be this way. The founding fathers, fearing all government, created federalism not to aggrandize state governments but to protect individual liberty, presuming that government closer to the people could be trusted to guard those rights. As tyrannical state leaders violate liberty in the name of "states' rights," we discover that those who coined that term had it wrong. **States do not have rights. People have rights. And the purpose of federalism is to protect those rights.**

Grassroots tyranny usually afflicts the proverbial little guy. In Mesa, Arizona, Edward Salib owns a Winchell's Donut franchise and posts the company's signs in his store windows.

But Mesa ordered him to cease the advertising, citing an ordinance declaring that signs could only cover a certain percentage of a window (to protect the city's "aesthetics"). But the standard Winchell's advertising signs covered more than the allowed space. Salib asked if he could comply by leaving one window empty of signs. Not enough, the city responded.

Salib turned to the judicial system. Federal courts often strike down local laws when they violate freedom of speech—except when the speech is commercial. Although many people highly value commercial speech, the courts do not. Salib's challenge to Mesa's ordinance failed in the trial court and is now on appeal.

There are thousands of such stories. The typical person lacks the resources to take on local governments. The odds are further stacked by the politicians' ability to use their citizens' tax dollars against them. Even when people can stand up for themselves, they often encounter court systems that indulge every presumption in favor of local government power.

What can we do to fight the leviathan? First, we should pay attention. The school board member or zoning commissioner often has more impact on the lives of ordinary people than does the president of the United States. We should get to know local officials and expend as much effort on local politics as we do on national politics.

We also need to rediscover federalism. We must remember that the object of American constitutional government is the preservation of individual liberty and that government at every level is a constant threat to that liberty.

In terms of fighting grassroots tyranny, we should look to state constitutions. Many state constitutions provide greater protections of liberty than does their national counterpart.

Most important, we can fight back. Washington, D.C., remains an object of concern for those who value freedom. But the more dangerous bully may live closer than we think. Only by standing up against it can we hope to vindicate our own freedom and cause government officials to act like the public servants they are meant to be.

—Clint Bolick

Clint Bolick is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution. This essay is adapted from his new book Leviathan: The Growth of Local Government and the Erosion of Liberty *(Hoover Press, 2004).*

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THE WEEK...

ple. Cox's main argument was that the amendment would give federal judges too much power. The amendment stipulates that judges may not require states to give same-sex couples those governmental benefits that come with marriage. Cox claims that judges will define the benefits of marriage narrowly, and then grant everything else to same-sex couples; so the amenders would have defeated themselves. All Cox has demonstrated here, however, is that an argument can be at once convoluted and obtuse. He posits that judges are so ideologically corrupt that they will read an express limitation on their power to promote the recognition of same-sex couples as an expansion of their power to do just that. But such unscrupulous judges can use the existing constitutional text to accomplish these goals. On Cox's reasoning, the 26th Amendment should not have been adopted because judges would somehow use it to take away 18-year-olds' right to vote. No amendment can foreclose the possibility of judicial willfulness, but amendments can constrain that willfulness. We need the FMA, or something like it, to block what bids fair to become an epidemic of such willfulness—as most conservative congressmen, thankfully, are able to see.

■ The Constitution includes one check on the federal courts that has largely lain dormant: the power of Congress to remove matters from their jurisdiction. The House has taken a step toward reviving that power, by voting 247-173 for a bill to block federal courts, including the Supreme Court, from ruling on the constitutionality of the Pledge of Allegiance. The Democratic opposition was animated by the post-1960s civics lesson, quite inaccurate as a matter of history, that all our freedoms came from the Supreme Court. (For most of our history, the courts were not active in striking down laws, yet we were free.) Taking issues out of the federal courts leaves state courts with the last judicial say on what the Constitution means. We are under no illusions about the rectitude of many of our state courts. But the damage they do can often be contained in their states, or counteracted by state legislatures. The House has struck a blow for self-government.

■ President Bush signed his fourth tax-cut bill. This one keeps some of the tax cuts he previously won from expiring. If it had not passed, middle-class families would have seen their tax bills go up. That reality earned the bill strong bipartisan backing: It passed the House 339-65 and the Senate 92-3. All of Bush's tax cuts should be made permanent, so that people will have increased incentives to work, save, and invest for the long term. But over that same long run, spending has to be brought under control. If he wins reelection, Bush is going to have to impose some discipline on congressional Republicans.

■ The *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the AP were just some of the media outlets that fell for an ACLU hoax. They reported that a federal judge had struck down a portion of the Patriot Act. But that claim originated in an ACLU press release,

JIM YOUNG/REUTERS

Le Président

I have a theory. John Kerry thinks the War on Terror can be won if, and only if, he gets to speak French to a large group of foreign leaders. As we all know, when he tries to muster the one sterling example of the sort of leadership only he can offer, he invariably comes up with . . . "a summit." My theory is that at such a summit, Kerry would finally be able to speak French to the assembled crowd, and with little more than a *Je m'appelle President Kerry* he would magically get Frenchmen to take bullets for American soldiers in Iraq. This would be a feat all the more impressive considering not only the historic difficulty of such a proposition in general and the fact that the French leadership and public are foursquare against this war, but also that John Kerry has dubbed the conflict in Iraq the biggest blunder since New Coke and would hence probably be unpersuasive in convincing others to join in—if, that is, he were speaking in English. But such would be the impact of an American president gibbering in the international language of diplomacy, love, and nihilism that all opposition would melt like crème brûlée under the torch. Or so John Kerry thinks.

I have no proof of this, of course. But it does seem consistent with Kerry's overall persona and with his—and his party's—bizarre conviction that until George W. Bush came to power, our European allies followed us around like the small woodland critters that trail Snow White in the cartoons. It's a standard talking point of the Begala-Carville school that Clinton left office with America "the most respected nation in the world" and that, had Bush not taken the reins, this would still be the case. That, of course, is nonsense on stilts. For more than a decade French bookstores have bulged with such anti-American titles as *Who Is Killing France? The American Strategy* and *American Totalitarianism*. There was also the bestseller, *No Thanks, Uncle Sam*, written by a member of the French parliament, which concludes, "It is appropriate to be downright anti-American." In 1999, Clinton needed 7,000 police officers in Greece to protect him from violent protesters who, among other things, kept trying to destroy a local statue of Harry Truman. In the mid-1990s over 50 countries witnessed violent attacks on McDonald's restaurants. When some (Communist) farmers destroyed one Mickey D's, Jacques Chirac declared, "I am in complete solidarity with France's farm workers, and I detest McDonald's."

But that was before Chirac had a chance to share *le Big Mac* with John Kerry.

—JONAH GOLDBERG

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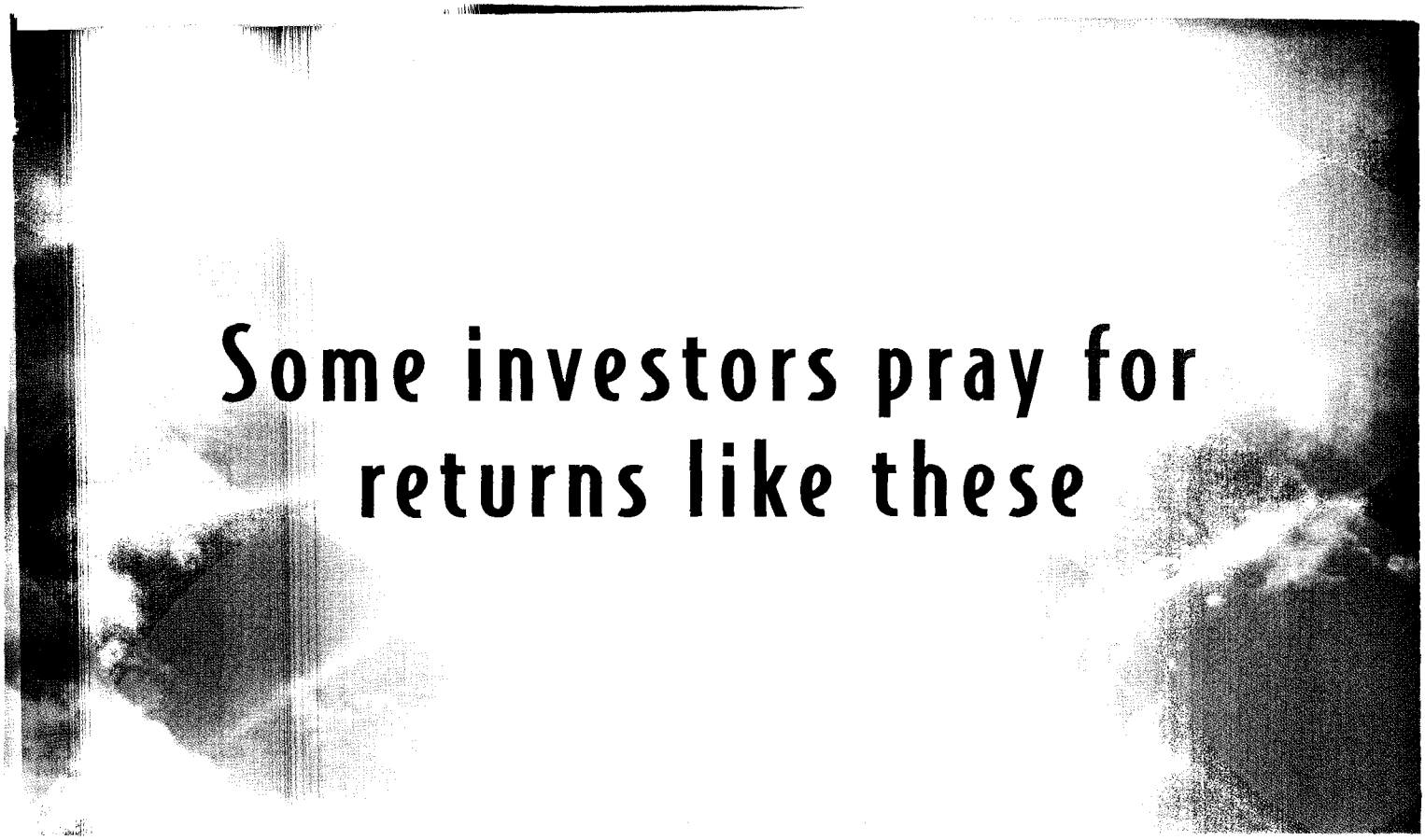

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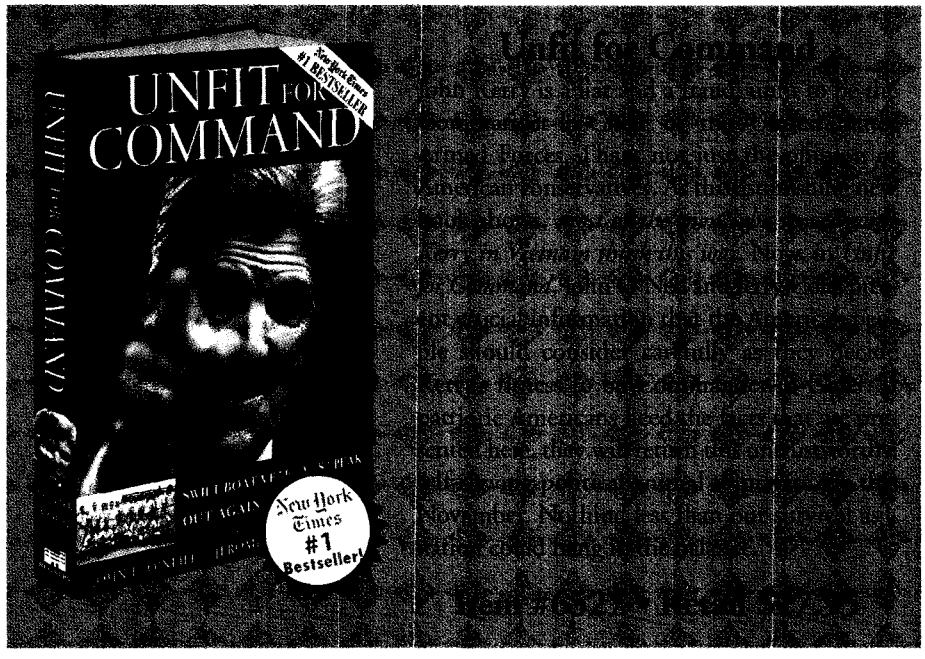
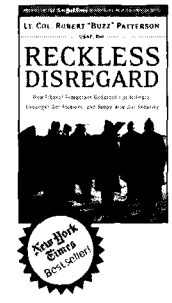
Popular conservative authors pictured (left to right) Dinesh D'Souza, Laura Ingraham, Robert Bork, Ann Coulter, Sean Hannity, Michael Savage, William F. Buckley, and William J. Bennett

Find out what's on the minds of America's Leading Conservatives





Reckless Disregard

Retired Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Robert "Buzz" Patterson establishes that disregard for our national security is epidemic among Democrats. Read about those Democrats, about the irresponsible ways they turn a blind eye to American security—and why the 2004 election may determine our very survival as a nation.

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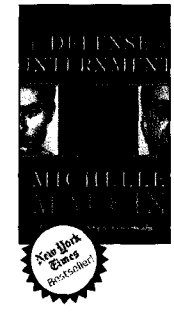

In Defense of Internment

In a time of war, Michelle Malkin insists, the survival of the nation must come first. In *In Defense of Internment*, she explains why, civil liberties are not sacrosanct. The bestselling author of *Invasion* argues that the "unalienable rights" articulated in the Declaration of Independence don't appear in random order: Liberty and the pursuit of happiness cannot be secured and protected without securing and protecting life first.

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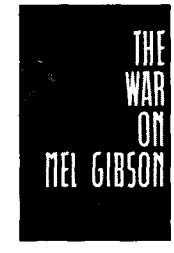

The War on Mel Gibson

Gary North demonstrates that Hollywood and its media cheerleaders are horrified by the failure of their smear campaign and the popularity of *The Passion*. After decades of abuse and declining influence, Christians have finally begun to fight back in the culture war. *The War on Mel Gibson* gives a clear picture of just how horrified they are, what they're doing about it, and what decent Americans can do to fight back.

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Legacy

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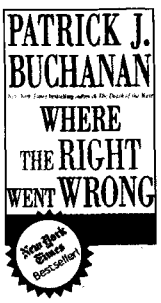

Where the Right Went Wrong

Here, Pat Buchanan explores the pressing truth that few others dare to admit: conservatives have lost their way. *Where the Right Went Wrong* is a much-needed handbook for policymakers and every concerned American to recover conservative politics of principle. It shows how we must restore not only the Right, but our deeply troubled nation.

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Rome Wasn't Burnt in a Day

"Once upon a time, in a Congress far, far away, Republicans believed in smaller government. But you wouldn't know it now." That's what the *Wall Street Journal* said in June 2004. Here, former Congressman Joe Scarborough shows why. The proud party of Reagan, is dead - and has been replaced by self-serving plutocrats who don't think twice about lining up at the pork trough with just as much gusto as any Democrat ever displayed.

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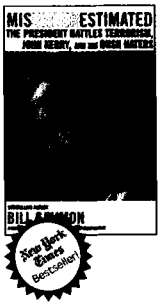

Misunderestimated

The Left is convinced that President Bush is an idiot—yet again and again, he has come out on top when they took him on. Now, best-selling author, Bill Sammon reveals why Democrats never can seem to get the better of this man for whom they have so little respect.

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Shut Up & Sing

In this refreshing and insightful look at the elites, Laura Ingraham unmasks the shallowness of elite thinking and reveals that it is they, not us, who are the stupid ones—and that loudmouth liberals like Barbra Streisand would do better to just "shut up and sing."

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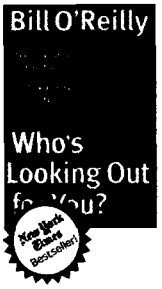

Who's Looking Out For You?

Host of Fox's wildly popular *O'Reilly Factor*, Bill O'Reilly presents an inspiring defense of the traditional family and scathing critiques of today's materialistic consumer culture, the perils of big government, the damage that the media establishment is doing to our nation's children, and much more.

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Michael Moore is a Big Fat Stupid White Man

Michael Moore has proved himself to be the most shamelessly dishonest propagandist since Joseph Goebbels and Nazi documentarian Leni Riefenstahl. Now, David T. Hardy and Jason Clarke dish it back *hard*, turning a careful eye on Moore's use of doctored film footage, manipulated facts, and spliced speeches to tamper with the truth.

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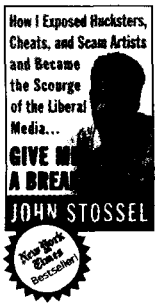
How I Exposed Hucksters, Cheats, and Scam Artists and Became the Scourge of the Liberal Media...
JOHN STOSSEL
New York Times Bestseller

Give Me A Break

For years, *20/20* co-anchor John Stossel has unmasked hordes of rip-off artists and corporate thieves. More importantly, he has gone against the grain of the liberal media. Here Stossel takes on such sacred cows as the FDA and environmental activists, and shows how the problems that government fails to fix can be solved by the power of the free market.

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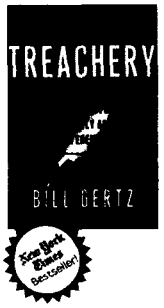

Treachery

The Iraq War of 2003 exposed the danger of allowing rogue states to acquire weapons and military supplies that threaten and kill American troops. But Saddam Hussein's Iraq and other enemies of America couldn't have done it on their own. Here, Bill Gertz uncovers the truth: the missiles that came from supposed allies of America. Gertz proves that these American "allies," are still arming deadly regimes – in clear violation of international law.

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THE WEEK...

not the judge's decision, and it is incorrect. The judge struck down part of a 1986 law. While the Patriot Act amended that law, the amendments were not at issue. The judge's decision is open to question. But before it is questioned, it has to be accurately described. The press, out of laziness and a desire to give John Ashcroft a black eye, did not do that. But at least the papers moved faster than Dan Rather to issue corrections.

■ Fannie Mae is the nation's biggest mortgage provider, with $1 trillion in assets. A new report says that it has been cooking its books. The Department of Justice has opened a criminal investigation. Were Fannie Mae a normal company, enforcing the relevant laws would be enough. But Fannie Mae is a "public-private partnership." Translation: All kinds of government subsidies help it make a profit; if it ever fails, taxpayers will be on the hook. It has become such a large player in housing markets that its failure would also disrupt those markets. For that reason, and to avoid the risk of a massive taxpayer bailout, Alan Greenspan has been recommending that Fannie be privatized. The revelation that its management has been more interested in enriching itself than in serving its supposed public purposes—and may have broken the law—is evidence that Greenspan is right.

■ Washington, D.C., has banned handguns since 1977. It is the strictest law in the nation, and it appears—how to put this?—to have been somewhat ineffective in reducing the city's crime rate. Naturally, when House Republicans and a fair number of Democrats voted to scrap the ban, the *New York Times* called the idea "loony." Let's hope the lunacy spreads to the Senate, and District residents get a sporting chance against violent criminals.

■ Baseball is coming to Washington, D.C., which has been the largest market in the country without a team. Mayor Anthony Williams is going to give the Expos—or whatever they will be called now—subsidies, financed by tax increases on D.C. businesses. The tide has been turning in recent years against taxpayer subsidies for stadiums. Journalists have given increasing attention to studies showing that such subsidies rarely pay off for cities' economies. They might just pay off for the District, since baseball there will attract more out-of-towners than most cities get. But the deal will teach the city's political class all the wrong lessons about economic development. The District needs lower taxes, among other things, a lot more than it needs a baseball team.

■ Who said the following thing to a jam-packed audience at Harvard the other day: "I even accept for the sake of argument that sexual orgies eliminate social tensions and ought to be encouraged"? Supreme Court justice Antonin Scalia, that's who. The justice was making a rhetorical point, but it got the press's attention (with an assist from the Harvard *Crimson*, which initially misreported the remark, making it sound even worse). At the same session, responding to floor questions, Justice Scalia poked gentle fun at the nonsense about "racial profiling," simulating a police radio report that: "The suspect is 5'10", we know what he looks like, but we can't tell you." Many of the faculty and students present were scandalized—not so much by the justice's remarks per se, but by the conservative judicial philosophy for the illustration of which he deployed them: the philosophy that, while judges can of course reach personal moral conclusions, they ought not impose those conclusions on citizens. If it helps get *that* message out, there is surely no harm in a little light sensationalism.

■ It's official: The Sudanese government's campaign of systematic killing in its Darfur region is genocide. That's what the State Department concluded after hundreds of interviews in 19 refugee camps. Over 50,000 have died at the hands of the government-backed Arab militias, and 350,000 of an estimated 1.2 million refugees are expected to die of malnutrition and disease by the end of the year. American investigators found evidence that the Arab Muslim assailants frequently shouted racial epithets as they targeted black Muslims for rape, the killing of male babies, and the burning of villages. The legal definition having been met, Secretary of State Colin Powell announced that genocide is occurring. That declaration put some pressure on the U.N., and Powell has pressed for a Security Council resolution calling for sanctions. Although a resolution was passed three months ago threatening sanctions if Sudan failed to call off the militias within 30 days, the Council watered down the U.S. proposal and created its own commission to dither some more about whether the ongoing violence amounts to genocide. While the U.N. tries to figure out what to call the world's most urgent human-rights crisis, 6,000 to 10,000 people are dying each month in Darfur.

■ Twenty-five years of Supreme Leadership by Ayatollah has inoculated Iranians against political Islam. The clerics in black robes and turbans are hated for their cruelty and hypocrisy every bit as much as Communist bosses once were in the Soviet Union. The young and the downtrodden are working for regime change, and the silent majority cheers them on. Reports of insurrection have been rising ever since the judicial murder in August of 16-year-old Ateqeh Rajabi, accused of sexual misconduct, denied a lawyer or witnesses, and hanged personally by her judge. From Rasht in the north to Bandar Abbas, the main port on the Persian Gulf, people have been burning down official buildings. After a recent religious festival, demonstrators in Tehran—and apparently in Isfahan and Kashan as well—clashed with the militia thugs in charge of the dirty work. The United States has to do everything possible to persuade the clerics in black robes and turbans to abdicate in Gorbachev style, rather than try to shoot their way out of trouble. Measures like the Iran Freedom and Support Act now before Congress may help avoid the worst-case scenario of using military means to prevent the clerics from going nuclear.

■ The *New York Times* wrote, of one of the many videotaped beheadings in Iraq, that "an insurgent wearing a ski mask" killed Eugene Armstrong, an American civilian, while "address[ing] President Bush, who is called a dog at one point." This prompted a letter to the *Times* by former mayor Ed Koch. "[T]he exact phrase uttered by the executioner . . . was, 'Oh, you Christian

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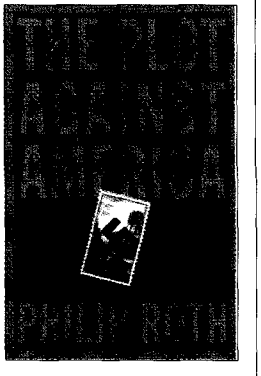
dog, Bush, stop your arrogance'. . . . Fanatic Islamists believe that Christians and Jews who do not recognize the supremacy of Islam should die. That awful message is part of the story, and the *Times* erred in not carrying that quote, which many other papers did." Nice point, Mr. Mayor. So was Koch's closer. "Your reporter refers to the spokesman for the murderers as an 'insurgent.' What would it take for the *Times* to call someone who has just participated in the beheading of an innocent civilian a terrorist? I am sure the public would like to know."

■ The ACLU lost a potential plaintiff when Maulavi Ghaffar, a senior Taliban commander, was killed in Afghanistan recently. Over a year ago, Mr. Ghaffar was released from Guantánamo Bay, where he had been held for about eight months after being captured on the battlefield fighting for the Taliban. He headed home to take up where he had left off, carrying out attacks on American and Afghan soldiers. He was unrepresented by counsel when he breathed his last, so his status was not determined in a court of law, but let the record show: Mr. Ghaffar was captured as an enemy combatant, was detained as an enemy combatant, and died as an enemy combatant.

■ The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)—the group that administers Palestinian refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza—has admitted to hiring members of the terrorist group Hamas to help in its efforts. UNRWA's commissioner general, Peter Hansen, defended the organization's hiring practices as nondiscriminatory: "We do not . . . exclude people from one persuasion as against another," he said, and then continued, "We demand of our staff, whatever their political persuasion is, that they behave in accordance with U.N. standards and norms for neutrality." Given that at the U.N. "neutrality" means attacking Israel for alleged abuses while giving terrorists and their sponsors a pass, it's no surprise to find Hamas members on the payroll. But remember who's financing this: The U.S. has given UNRWA $2.5 billion in taxpayer dollars since 1950, and over $100 million in the last four years alone. Remember too that UNRWA property (e.g., ambulances) has been used in the past for terrorist activity, including the kidnap of Israeli soldiers and the transport of armed Palestinians. There is no reason for the U.S., or any other free country, to support an organization that is complicit in terror, and that, under the guise of helping people, abets their ongoing self-destruction.

■ We are more than used to hearing sob stories about Guantánamo Bay. What we do not hear much about are detentions on the rest of that island—specifically, of dissidents imprisoned by Castro's regime. Combating that trend, however, is James Cason, the chief U.S. diplomat in Havana. At a small reception in his home, Cason presented a model of a typical holding cell in a Cuban prison, based on a description by jailed dissident Oscar Biscet. The wood and metal structure is some six feet high and three feet wide; Cason's model included a plastic food bowl, a bed sheet, a drain in the floor—i.e., the toilet—and a fake rat. This, of course, greatly unsettled Cuban officials: Ricardo Alarcón, president of Cuba's "parliament," huffed, "I'm not surprised by any unsightly display that man makes . . . He lacks seriousness." Memo to Señor Alarcón: What is unsightly is his government's treatment of dissidents; what lacks seriousness is Castro's propaganda, and his Free World admirers' embrace of it. Hats off to James Cason, a gutsy, truth-telling man.

■ Shall we call the corporate roll of honor? There's Nortel, which invented for the Chinese government an Internet surveillance mechanism "specifically designed 'to catch Falun Gong.'" (We quote Ethan Gutmann's recent book, *Losing the New China*.) And then there's Google. Google has helpfully omitted all PRC-banned sites from its search service. From its search service in China, that is. What you can find via Google in Peoria—or Kobe—you can't find in Beijing. Google has bowed to the Communist rulers. Strange, in that the company's founding pledge is "Do no evil." Some have contended that it's better to have a censored Google in China than none. They're probably right. But a) Google tried to do this in secret, not telling anyone—they were found out. And b) they should modify their motto somehow—maybe, "Do a little evil, for the greater good (and greater profits)"?



■ Philip Roth's latest novel, *The Plot Against America*, posits that Charles Lindbergh wins the 1940 presidential election as an isolationist and Nazi fellow-traveler. Paul Berman, reviewing the book in the *New York Times Book Review* with an eye for present relevance, worries about George W. Bush's homespun Christianity and carrier-deck theater. But Berman is honest enough to say where anti-Semitism resides today. "During the last two or three years, large publics in Western Europe and even in the United States have taken up the view that, if extremist political movements have swept across large swaths of the Muslim world . . . Israel and its crimes must ultimately be to blame. And if America has been drawn into war in Iraq, it is because President Bush's second-level foreign policy advisers include a few Jews [who have] manipulated everyone else to do the bidding of Ariel Sharon." Berman can't complete the parallel, because Roth doesn't even begin it; *The Plot Against America* is set in the past, real and imagined. Isn't it sad, and telling, that the most famous chronicler of modern American Judaism and its discontents, living in a world afire, sees a 1940 election that didn't happen as the greatest threat to American Jews?

■ Another day, another plagiarism scandal at Harvard. First it was Doris Kearns Goodwin, then Charles Ogletree, and now Laurence Tribe. Joseph Bottum of *The Weekly Standard* has caught the Democrats' favorite constitutional lawyer lifting portions from a colleague's book for use in his own 1985 work, *God Save this Honorable Court*. The plagiarized author, Henry J. Abraham, emeritus professor at the University of Virginia, rightly feels aggrieved about it. Tribe, to his credit, was somewhat apologetic, saying that he was sorry he had failed to acknowledge his source. Unfortunately, though, Tribe recently defended Ogletree (who blamed two hapless research assistants for reproducing six paragraphs from another book) by claiming that critics who "get on a high horse" about inadvertent plagiarism are

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THE WEEK...

"revealing more about their lack of self-knowledge than their high scholarly standards." Not quite. *We're* not the ones outsourcing all that difficult and tedious research work to student-assistants who may lack the judgment and scholarly skills once expected of college professors. The increasing reliance of the American professoriate—and, in particular, its high-paid stars—on cheap research labor is a related scandal here.

■ What are they up to in academia lately? Well, at Yale they are studying Michael Jackson. At a two-day conference titled "Regarding Michael Jackson: Performing Racial, Gender, and Sexual Difference Center Stage," 18 scholars from universities around the country pondered the eccentric pop star with particular reference to his racial, sexual, and, er, genderal ambiguity. This stuff is *important*, you see. "He's contributed to the national discussion about race and gender, and that is an invaluable topic for all of us to discuss," enthused one conference participant. Invaluable! And so much more fun than that dead, dry old stuff—you know: history, math, philosophy, science, languages, economics—that universities used to bother with, back in the days before postmodernism liberated us from the shackles of linear thinking.

■ Less than two weeks after Dan Rather had to acknowledge having used forged documents in his story about Bush's National Guard service, he aired a segment by reporter Richard Schlesinger about a mother who feared her sons would be drafted. (The Kerry campaign is suggesting a draft is imminent thanks to Bush's foreign policy; the Bush administration has repeatedly said, Not a chance.) The interviewee, Beverly Cocco, is not your average soccer mom. Although neither Schlesinger nor Rather bothered to tell viewers, she is the head of the Pennsylvania chapter of the anti–Iraq-war group People Against the Draft. This lapse brings to mind a minor scandal of the recent past, also mentioned in our pages, involving the *New York Times Magazine* and one Amy Richards, who told the *Times* about her decision to selectively abort two of her triplets. Identified only as a freelance writer, Richards was in fact a veteran abortion-rights activist, as a simple Google search reveals and as the paper later admitted. The *Times*'s omission, which received plenty of deserved criticism, may have been an honest mistake. At this point it's awfully hard to believe the same about Rather's.

■ Ms. Cameron Diaz, a movie actress by trade, appeared on Oprah Winfrey's show to unburden herself of some thoughts about the upcoming general election. Her principal thought was that women ought to vote, because: "Women have so much to lose. I mean, we could lose the right to our bodies. . . . If you think that rape should be legal, then don't vote." So apparently one of the political parties proffering candidates this November has the legalization of rape in its election platform. Who knew? And which political party could it be? Hmmm. As a general rule, this magazine agrees with Ms. Diaz that citizens should be encouraged to vote. We are beginning to think, though, that perhaps, way down at the very lowest levels of political intelligence, there should be a few exceptions.

■ While Ronald Reagan may have made his last movie in 1964 (*The Killers*), he's not quite done yet. *In the Face of Evil: Reagan's War in Word and Deed* is a new documentary that "chronicles the brutal conflict between totalitarianism and freedom as seen through Ronald Reagan's forty-year confrontation with Communism." It traces the life of "The Beast"—namely, brutality and opposition to freedom—from World War I to the Russian Revolution to Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo, and then to the post-World War II spread of Bolshevism. This account is built around Reagan's crusade against Communism, from Hollywood to the jungles of Central America, encompassing in full his varied and ingenious strategy for defeating the Evil Empire. *In the Face of Evil* is, ultimately, a recognition that evil has many faces—and draws parallels between today's war against militant Islam and Reagan's struggle. It also highlights the stark contrast between politicians who accommodated The Beast (Nixon, Carter) and leaders intent on causing its demise (Reagan, Bush II). Released on Oct. 1, the documentary will be expanding to cities nationwide in the coming weeks (for more information, see www.inthefaceofevil.com). Try to catch it—if only as an antidote to Michael Moore.

CAMPAIGN 2004

Kerry's World

ELECTIONS in wartime are necessarily referenda on the incumbent. The president makes the decisions; since some decisions, even of presidents who ultimately win their wars, are bad, he bears the blame. Lincoln was so uncertain about the election of 1864 that he prepared a transition strategy, until General Sherman gave him some timely victories.

The Terror War will not supply such successes before Nov. 2. The United States and Iraq have to slog to make Iraq stable, or at least not disastrous. Other nettles, from Syria to Saudi Arabia to Iran, have yet to be grasped. President Bush, as the first debate proved, is an erratic defender of his actions. Like many a slugger he alternates home runs with ghastly whiffs.

Yet an election is also a choice. George Bush is not running against Winston Churchill, or perfection. He is running against John Kerry. Kerry makes his own whiffs, from a bottled suntan to "I voted for it before I voted against it." But he also has wartime service, a grave demeanor, and the prospect of a fresh start going for him. What, after the fresh start, would Kerry's policies be?

In the first debate, Kerry enounced the doctrine of the "global test." After insisting that he would not forswear America's right to act, even preemptively, "in any way necessary," he added that America's actions had to "pass . . . the global test" of convincing Americans and "the world" that we are acting "for legitimate reasons." This sounds like Jefferson's "decent respect to the opinions of mankind." But Kerry's constant invocation of summits and allies makes plain that his "global test" is more than making the best possible case; it stands or falls on the approval, and the cooperation, of other nations, and possibly of

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the U.N. as well. Kerry here reflects the senatorial temperament, beholden to consensus and deal-making. But the Terror War is not a transportation bill.

Kerry opposes the Iraq war as a blunder, yet he promises to tell the troops that he will lead them to victory. He expects what he believes is his "truth-telling" to inspire them, and he even had the chutzpah, in the first debate, to compare his honesty now to his honesty during the Vietnam War. But young John Kerry did not tell his uncomfortable truths (most of them lies, actually, but let it pass for the moment) in order to inspire America to victory. Instead he wanted to shame it into retreat, and ultimately he succeeded. Kerry can't mean both halves of his contradiction. If the Iraq war was a mistake, as he has repeatedly said, then the fallen there have died for a mistake, which he has denied. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that Kerry would bring what he believes to be an American blunder to a swift, and more or less inglorious, end. Otherwise he is coldly fooling his anti-war constituency. Even his enemies do not accuse him of this cynicism.

Kerry has recently advanced a new idea, that we should reach out to the Muslim world. The United States has barely begun to make the kind of ideological campaign that it did during the Cold War, with Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. If this is what Kerry has in mind, then he is to be encouraged. In normal diplomatic parlance, however, reaching out to the Muslim world means reaching out to its rulers—all of them, with a few exceptions (including Allawi and Karzai) despots, zealots, or mass murderers (sometimes all three). The difference is the difference between hobnobbing with Brezhnev and urging his successors to tear down the Berlin Wall. Senator Kerry did not support President Reagan; why should we expect him to be Reaganesque now?

The most telling point President Bush made when he had Kerry face to face was that "the best way to protect this homeland is to stay on the offense." If 9/11 was a crime, and if jihad's patrons and well-wishers are simply neighborhood nuisances, then Bush is wrong. If the Terror War is a war, then he is right. In this context, the most disturbing thing Kerry has said recently was his fantasy of the right way to have handled Iran—offering it nuclear power, then imposing sanctions only if it then started making bombs. Why go to Dr. Khan's backdoor bomb shop if Uncle Sam is willing to give you the initial leg up? After 9/11, we are not dealing with the abstract menace of proliferation. We are dealing with regimes that hate America, and with freelancers who are willing to strike at our heart. If Kerry feels the appropriate urgency, he has yet to show it.

notes & asides

■ Dear Bill: I am reading Andree [Andree, Don Pesci's wife, is blind] your latest book, *Miles Gone By*, a sumptuous feast.

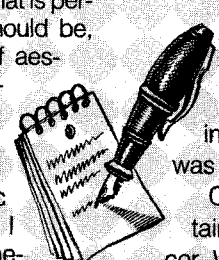
We arrived last night at your tribute to Whittaker Chambers. I confess I choked up a little at the end and could not get through the final paragraph because, I told Andree, I did not want it to end; by which I meant, I did not want *him* to end—not before he had seen the promised land, a world in which the Soviet Union, the incubus against which he labored, had disappeared.

In the meantime, I have settled to my own satisfaction a bothersome lingering question.

Several years ago, I sent you a paragraph written by Søren Kierkegaard—very evocative—that seemed to describe Chambers's unique position in the world of his time and ours.

The passage was this one, from the diapsalmata in the first part of *Either/Or*.

> What is a poet? An unhappy man who in his heart harbors a deep anguish, but whose lips are so fashioned that the moans and cries which pass over them are transformed into ravishing music. . . . And men crowd about the poet and say to him, "Sing for us soon again"—which is as much to say, "May new sufferings torment your soul, but may your lips be fashioned as before; for the cries would only distress us, but the music, the music is delightful." And the critics come forward and say, "That is perfectly done—just as it should be, according to the rules of aesthetics." Now it is understood that a critic resembles a poet to a hair; he only lacks the anguish in his heart and the music upon his lips. I tell you, I would rather be a swineherd, understood by the swine, than a poet misunderstood by men.



Sometime later—during a visit to your house, I think—I asked if Chambers had been familiar with Kierkegaard, and you said he had never mentioned him to you. But Chambers's use of the idea of witnessing seemed to suggest a more than coincidental influence.

It was one of those irremovable burrs in the mind that one is forced to endure.

A couple of years later, needing a reference for a letter to a newspaper, I was driven to unearth a quote from the volume of Chambers's letters to you, *Odyssey of a Friend*, and once again was struck by some ideas in a few of the letters that reminded me of Kierkegaard. So, I was driven further back to *Witness* itself and read the book to Andree, who had not read it before.

And there, staring back at me in the very first chapter of the book, was Kierkegaard.

Chambers, God bless him, certainly suffered. You offered him succor. When finally God put before him the water of life, I like to think he took it and drank it down in deep draughts. And now surely he knows what God's purposes in time were.

Don
[Donald Pesci]
Vernon, Ct.

—WFB

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■ CAMPAIGN 2004 ■

High Stakes

Quite simply, Kerry must be stopped; and Bush must win

PAUL JOHNSON

THE great issue in the 2004 election—it seems to me as an Englishman—is, How seriously does the United States take its role as a world leader, and how far will it make sacrifices, and risk unpopularity, to discharge this duty with success and honor? In short, this is an election of the greatest significance, for Americans and all the rest of us. It will redefine what kind of a country the United States is, and how far the rest of the world can rely upon her to preserve the general safety and protect our civilization.

When George W. Bush was first elected, he stirred none of these feelings, at home or abroad. He seems to have sought the presidency more for dynastic than for any other reasons. September 11 changed all that dramatically. It gave his presidency a purpose and a theme, and imposed on him a mission. Now, we can all criticize the way he has pursued that mission. He has certainly made mistakes in detail, notably in underestimating the problems that have inevitably followed the overthrow of the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq, and overestimating the ability of U.S. forces to tackle them. On the other hand, he has been absolutely right in estimating the seriousness of the threat international terrorism poses to the entire world and on the need for the United States to meet this threat with all the means at its disposal and for as long as may be necessary. Equally, he has placed these considerations right at the center of his policies and continued to do so with total consistency, adamantine determination, and remarkable courage, despite sneers and jeers, ridicule and venomous opposition, and much unpopularity.

There is something grimly admirable about his stoicism in the face of reverses, which reminds me of other moments in history: the dark winter Washington faced in 1777-78, a time to "try men's souls," as Thomas Paine put it, and the long succession of military failures Lincoln had to bear and explain before he found a commander who could take the cause to victory. There is nothing glamorous about the Bush presidency and nothing exhilarating. It is all hard pounding, as Wellington said of Waterloo, adding: "Let us see who can pound the hardest." Mastering terrorism fired by a religious fanaticism straight from the Dark Ages requires hard pounding of the dullest, most repetitious kind, in which spectacular victories are not to be looked for, and all we can expect are "blood, toil, tears, and sweat." However, something persuades me that Bush—with his grimness and doggedness, his lack of sparkle but his enviable concentration on the central issue—is the president America needs at this difficult time. He has, it seems to me, the moral right to ask American voters to give him the mandate to finish the job he has started.

This impression is abundantly confirmed, indeed made overwhelming, when we look at the alternative. Senator Kerry has not made much of an impression in Europe, or indeed, I gather, in America. Many on the Continent support him, because they hate Bush, not because of any positive qualities Kerry possesses. Indeed we know of none, and there are six good reasons that he should be mistrusted. First, and perhaps most important, he seems to have no strong convictions about what he would do if given office and power. The content and emphasis of his campaign on terrorism, Iraq, and related issues have varied from week to week. But they seem always to be determined by what his advisers, analyzing the polls and other evidence, recommend, rather than by his own judgment and convictions. In other words, he

DARREN GYGI

The latest of Mr. Johnson's many books is *Art: A New History*.

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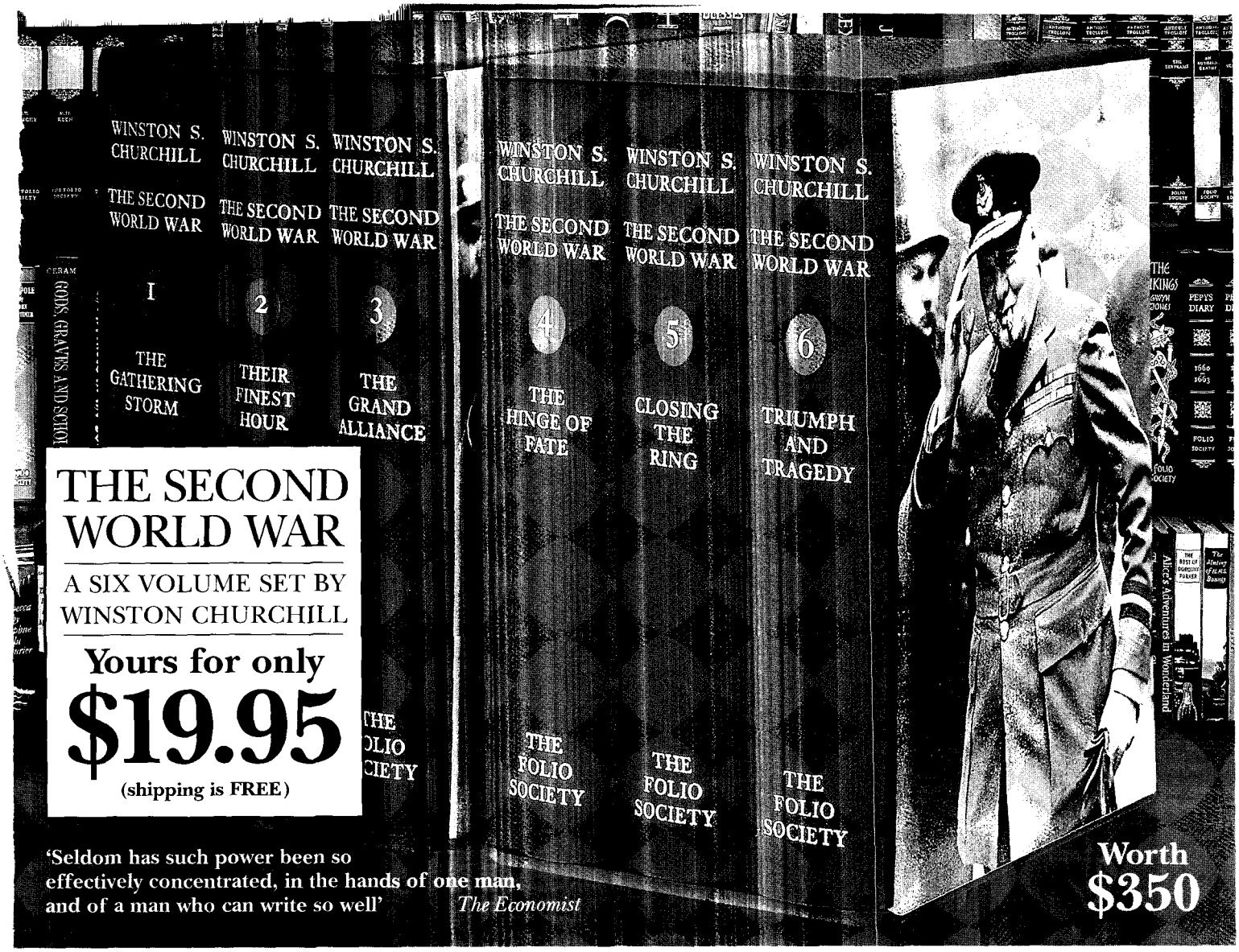

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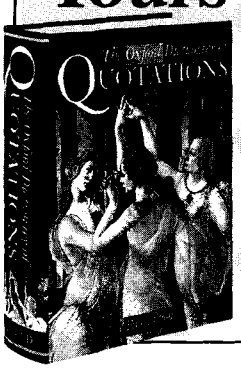

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is saying, in effect: "I do not know what to do but I will do what you, the voters, want." This may be an acceptable strategy, on some issues and at certain times. It is one way you can interpret democracy. But in a time of crisis, and on an issue involving the security of the world, what is needed is leadership. Kerry is abdicating that duty and proposing, instead, that the voters should lead and he will follow.

Second, Kerry's personal character has, so far, appeared in a bad light. He has always presented himself, for the purpose of Massachusetts vote-getting, as a Boston Catholic of presumably Irish origins. This side of Kerry is fundamentally dishonest. He does not follow Catholic teachings, certainly in his views on such issues as abortion—especially when he feels additional votes are to be won by rejecting Catholic doctrine. This is bad enough. But since the campaign began it has emerged that Kerry's origins are not in the Boston-Irish community but in Germanic Judaism. Kerry knew this all along, and deliberately concealed it for political purposes. If a man will mislead about such matters, he will mislead about anything.

There is, thirdly, Kerry's long record of contradictions and uncertainties as a senator and his apparent inability to pursue a consistent policy on major issues. Fourth is his posturing over his military record, highlighted by his embarrassing pseudo-military salute when accepting the nomination. Fifth is his disturbing lifestyle, combining liberal—even radical—politics with being the husband, in succession, of two heiresses, one worth $300 million and the other $1 billion. The Kerrys have five palatial homes and a personal jet, wealth buttressed by the usual team of lawyers and financial advisers to provide the best methods of tax-avoidance. Sixth and last is the Kerry team: who seem to combine considerable skills in electioneering with a variety of opinions on all key issues.

Indeed, it is when one looks at Kerry's closest associates that one's doubts about his suitability become certainties. Kerry may dislike his running-mate, and those feelings may be reciprocated—but that does not mean a great deal. More important is that the man Kerry would have as his vice president is an ambulance-chasing lawyer of precisely the kind the American system has spawned in recent decades, to its great loss and peril, and that is already establishing a foothold in Britain and other European countries. This aggressive legalism—what in England we call "vexatious litigation"—is surely a characteristic America does not want at the top of its constitutional system.

I cannot recall any election when the enemies of America all over the world have been so unanimous in hoping for the victory of one candidate.

Of Kerry's backers, maybe the most prominent is George Soros, a man who made his billions through the kind of unscrupulous manipulations that (in Marxist folklore) characterize "finance capitalism." This is the man who did everything in his power to wreck the currency of Britain, America's principal ally, during the EU exchange-rate crisis—not out of conviction but simply to make vast sums of money. He has also used his immense resources to interfere in the domestic affairs of half a dozen other countries, some of them small enough for serious meddling to be hard to resist. One has to ask: Why is a man like Soros so eager to see Kerry in the White House? The question is especially pertinent since he is not alone among the superrich wishing to see Bush beaten. There are several other huge fortunes backing Kerry.

Among the wide spectrum of prominent Bush-haters there is the normal clutter of Hollywood performers and showbiz self-advertisers. That is to be expected. More noticeable, this time, are the large numbers of novelists, playwrights, and moviemakers who have lined up to discharge venomous salvos at the incumbent. I don't recall any occasion, certainly not since the age of FDR, when so much partisan election material has been produced by intellectuals of the Left, not only in the United States but in Europe, especially in Britain, France, and Germany. These intellectuals—many of them with long and lugubrious records of supporting lost left-wing causes, from the Soviet empire to Castro's aggressive adventures in Africa, and who have in their time backed Mengistu in Ethiopia, Qaddafi in Libya, Pol Pot in Cambodia, and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua—seem to have a personal hatred of Bush that defies rational analysis.

Behind this front line of articulate Bushicides (one left-wing columnist in Britain actually offered a large sum of money to anyone who would assassinate the president) there is the usual cast of Continental suspects, led by Chirac in France and the superbureaucrats of Brussels. As one who regularly reads *Le Monde*, I find it hard to convey the intensity of the desire of official France to replace Bush with Kerry. Anti-Americanism has seldom been stronger in Continental Europe, and Bush seems to personify in his simple, uncomplicated self all the things these people most hate about America—precisely because he is so American. Anti-Americanism, like anti-Semitism, is not, of course, a rational reflex. It is, rather, a mental disease, and the Continentals are currently suffering from a virulent spasm of the infection, as always happens when America exerts strong and unbending leadership.

Behind this second line of adversaries there is a far more sinister third. All the elements of anarchy and unrest in the Middle East and Muslim Asia and Africa are clamoring and praying for a Kerry victory. The mullahs and the imams, the gunmen and their arms suppliers and paymasters, all those who stand to profit—politically, financially, and emotionally—from the total breakdown of order, the eclipse of democracy, and the defeat of the rule of law, want to see Bush replaced. His defeat on November 2 will be greeted, in Arab capitals, by shouts of triumph from fundamentalist mobs of exactly the kind that greeted the news that the Twin Towers had collapsed and their occupants been exterminated.

I cannot recall any election when the enemies of America all over the world have been so unanimous in hoping for the victory of one candidate. That is the overwhelming reason that John Kerry must be defeated, heavily and comprehensively. **NR**

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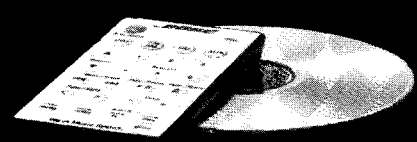

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■ **CAMPAIGN 2004 II**

Color Them Purple

Minnesota and Wisconsin may not be ragin' red, but they're sure not liberal blue

RAMESH PONNURU

AFTER a campaign rally in Minnesota on September 16, President Bush spoke to a few of his supporters, including Republican governor Tim Pawlenty and congressman Jim Ramstad. Bush was amazed that he might win the state. If we carry Minnesota, he said, we'll sweep.

Bush, like many political observers, is clinging to a dated perception. Bush may very well win Minnesota *and* Wisconsin. But they are no longer two of the most liberal states in the union. Carrying them doesn't mean he will carry Rhode Island, or even Pennsylvania; it will, however, show how much these northern Plains states have changed.

Both states acquired reputations for progressivism early in the last century, as Scandinavian and German immigrants brought a social-democratic politics to the region. Wisconsin was the land of Robert LaFollette, who took 17 percent for the Progressives in the presidential election of 1924. Minnesota, meanwhile, produced such liberal giants as Hubert Humphrey, Eugene McCarthy, Walter Mondale, and Orville Freeman.

Wisconsin hasn't voted for a Republican presidential candidate since Reagan's landslide in 1984. One of Wisconsin's Senate seats—the one now held by Herb Kohl—has been held by a Democrat continuously since Joe McCarthy died in 1957. Minnesota has gone even longer without voting for a Republican presidential candidate; longer, indeed, than any other state. It has not done it since 1972.

Now both states are moving rightward. Realignment isn't happening the way it did in the South, where states started voting for Republican presidential candidates and only later backed local Republican candidates. In Minnesota, especially, the Republican vote is increasing at every level simultaneously.

Realignment has been underway for some time. One milestone came in 1978, when Republicans won both Senate seats in Minnesota and the governorships of Minnesota and Wisconsin. Minnesota's reputation for liberalism was already overstated by the mid-1980s. Sure, it rejected Ronald Reagan when the rest of the country embraced him in 1984. But it rejected him narrowly, and only because native son Walter Mondale was the Democratic nominee. The same year, Republicans won the state house of representatives. In 1986, Republican Tommy Thompson won the governor's race in Wisconsin. He would be reelected three times. Just as the Progressives had instituted innovative policies that other states copied, Thompson's Wisconsin pioneered welfare reform and school choice.

Then (HHH) and now (Pawlenty)

There were, to be sure, setbacks on the path to Republican dominance. In Minnesota, the very liberal Paul Wellstone unseated incumbent Republican senator Rudy Boschwitz in 1990. But that race was something of an aberration. Boschwitz had been a vocal supporter of the first President Bush's tax increase, and a sex scandal had hit the Republican candidate for governor right before the election.

Jesse Ventura's successful independent bid for governor in 1998 masked the growing Republican strength in Minnesota. That year was a rough one for Republicans nationally. But it was a still worse one for Minnesota Democrats. Hubert Humphrey III beat Ted Mondale in their gubernatorial primary—and then went on to take third place in the governor's race. The damage increased with time: Ventura, it seems, detached many Democratic voters from their old loyalties. Republicans would later pick many of them up. Gov. Pawlenty calls Ventura "a bridge figure."

In 2000, a strong Ralph Nader candidacy in Wisconsin and Minnesota brought Bush to the edge of victory in both states. (Nader is on both states' ballots this year, too.) Bush came within 60,000 votes of winning Minnesota, and was only 5,709 votes shy of winning Wisconsin. Bush carried the Milwaukee area, one of the few major metropolitan areas not to turn markedly more Democratic during the 1990s. In 2002, Minnesota Republicans won the governor's race, won the Senate race, and picked up 11 seats in the state house of representatives. All that seemed to be left of the mighty Democratic-Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota was Al Franken and Garrison Keillor (which is part of the reason they're so tetchy these days). The same year, Wisconsin Republicans lost the governorship after Thompson's long reign. But they also won control of the state senate and expanded their majority in the lower house.

Republicans have gained in Minnesota and Wisconsin largely because national trends have had a larger-than-average impact there. They are disproportionately white states, and the long erosion of the Democratic party among white voters has therefore hurt badly. Exurban areas have grown fast in Minnesota, and those exurbs, full of young families, lean Republican. Minnesota's Twin Cities are very liberal ("Minneapolis is San Francisco on the Mississippi," says former Republican congressman Vin Weber, an adviser to the Bush campaign for the region), but are a declining share of the state's population. Rural areas have been moving quickly toward the Republicans, as rural areas have across the country. Quickly, but not uniformly: Western Wisconsin has been slower to turn Republican than eastern. Minnesota's Iron Range—the heavily unionized mining country of the northeast—has slowed the state's political transformation, but its population is shrinking.

The two states are very similar. "The line is, Wisconsin is Catholic deer hunters and Minnesota is Lutheran deer hunters," says Paul Ryan, a Republican congressman from southeastern Wisconsin. They're midsized states, with ten electoral

PAWLENTY: ANDY KING/AP HUMPHREY: BETTMANN/CORBIS

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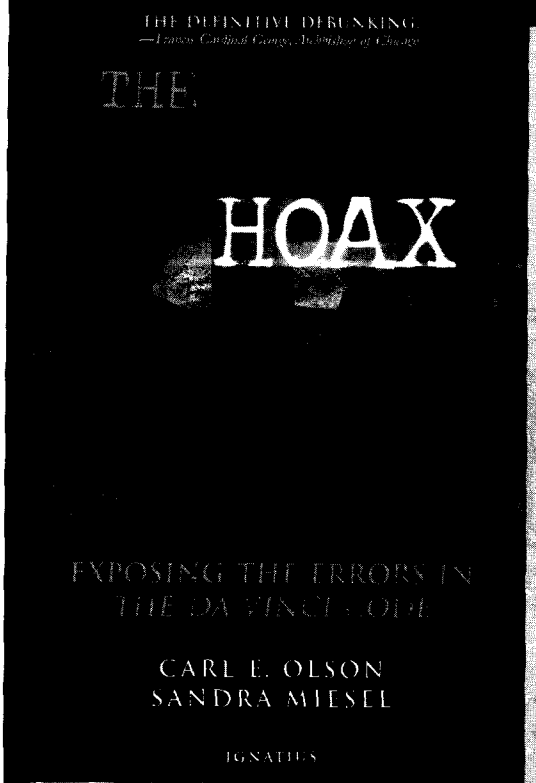

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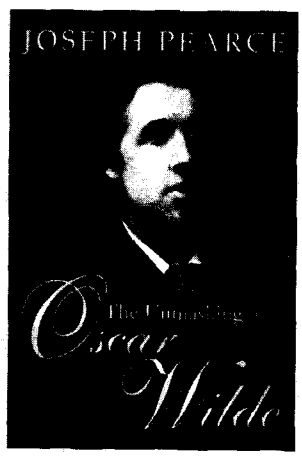

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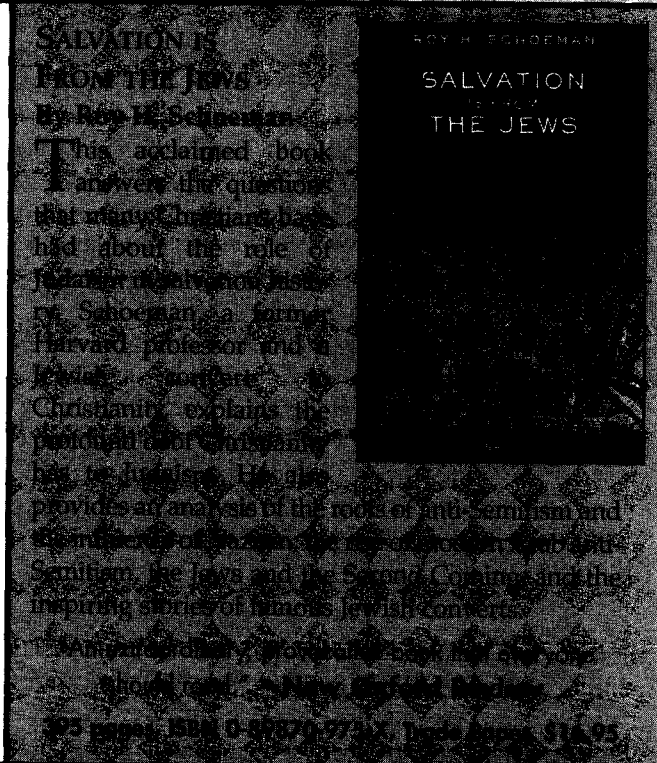

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votes each. After suffering rather less from the recession than most states, both Wisconsin and Minnesota are booming. The unemployment rate in each state is 4.8 percent, compared with a national average of 5.4.

Both states are competitive in this year's presidential race. But the contest is being fought harder in Wisconsin. By the end of September, Bush and Cheney had been there eleven times this year, as had Kerry and Edwards. Bush is doing better in Wisconsin than in Minnesota, as one might expect given his 2000 performance. Depending on the poll, he is up by anywhere from three to ten points in the Badger State. The polls in Minnesota are mixed. The Minneapolis *Star-Tribune* had Kerry up nine points in mid-September. But its poll skews Democratic. Other, later polls have shown Bush either tied or with a modest lead.

Ryan has a theory for why Wisconsin seems to be backing Bush. The state likes mavericks: liberal senator Russ Feingold, for example. Kerry is too equivocal. "George Bush is really winning the personality/likeability contest in Wisconsin," says Ryan. "That counts for something. It would be better for [Kerry] to stick to the consistent liberal he was in the Senate than what he's trying to be." Republicans are working hard to make a recent Kerry gaffe—he said "Lambert Field" when he meant "Lambeau," home of the Green Bay Packers—reinforce the impression of his phoniness. George Twigg, the communications director for the Kerry-Edwards campaign in the state, is confident his team will win. "We are weathering the attacks," he says. The state economy, he continues, isn't all it's cracked up to be: "The unemployment numbers don't tell the whole story."

Compared with Minnesota, Wisconsin has more Republican-leaning voters. But Minnesota has the better organized Republican party, and it shows. Minnesota has a popular conservative Republican governor in Pawlenty, while Wisconsin has a popular Democratic one in Jim Doyle; Minnesota has a Republican senator while Wisconsin has none. Wisconsin Democrats are suddenly nervous about Feingold's reelection—challenger Tim Michels just won the Republican primary—but Feingold is still favored and the race is not a top priority for Republicans nationally. Ron Eibensteiner, the chairman of the Minnesota Republican party, says that his goals by the end of 2006 are to reelect Pawlenty, replace Democratic senator Mark Dayton and congressman Collin Peterson, hold the state house of representatives, and win the state senate. Those are realistic goals, even if Republicans do not achieve all of them in the end.

Minnesota and Wisconsin are socially conservative states. Minnesota has four Democratic congressmen. One of them has a 90 percent rating from the National Right to Life Committee. Another has 100 percent. The contests in these states are part of a larger trend: The terrain of presidential elections is getting more socially conservative. For years, the media wisdom has been that swing voters' social views are moderate to liberal. Yet the most sought-after voters today are the blue-collar social conservatives of the Ohio River Valley—and the social conservatives of Minnesota and Wisconsin. In 2000, Al Gore muted his support for gun control to win in places like these. This year, Kerry has soft-pedaled his positions on abortion and same-sex marriage.

A few years ago, you might have assumed that the Republicans had wrung all the advantage that could be had out of social issues; that all the socially conservative Democrats who were tempted to switch parties over those issues had already done so. But you would have been wrong.

Pawlenty says Minnesota is "purple" rather than "red," describing it as a "politically competitive state instead of being fairly solid for one side or the other." He thinks that the presidential election could play an important role in the state's realignment.

"There are still a lot of skeptics about whether Minnesota has changed. Having President Bush win this state would be a huge psychological breakthrough for Republicans and conservatives in Minnesota because it would be the most visible confirmation of this change that we could have," he says. "The chattering class in Minnesota, much of which is getting a little long in the tooth, came of age during this liberal era. They continue to hold sway as thought leaders, and they want to discredit the Republicans and the conservatives as aberrational. And a Bush victory would put that to rest in a way they couldn't deny." **NR**

■ **CAMPAIGN 2004 III**

Not a Draft, But Hot Air

The Democrats have a scare tactic. Another one.

JIM GERAGHTY

In the Democrats' long history of dishonest vote-grubbing, their recent perpetuation of rumors that President Bush will bring back the military draft is not the most shameless—but it might make the top ten.

The last American to be drafted into the military reported to boot camp in 1973, the year the U.S. pulled out of Vietnam and President Nixon abolished the draft. Since then, no elected official or Pentagon policymaker has seriously suggested its restoration. Legislation to restore the draft has been introduced in Congress, by Rep. Charles Rangel of New York and Sen. Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, both liberal Democrats. These lawmakers have been refreshingly honest in admitting that their action aims to undermine public support for the war in Iraq, and to build support for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. And yet: The Democratic party's leaders have been screaming from the rooftops to gullible teenagers and their parents that President Bush is going to abduct America's children for use as cannon fodder.

It will come as no surprise to those familiar with John Kerry that he is of two minds on the subject. In a December 2003 speech, he said: "If we had a need for a general mobilization in the future, then I think that's the only fair way to do it, but I don't think we have that need for a general mobilization at this point." By September 22, Kerry had changed his position, asserting that he would *never* bring back the draft, but that it was a possibility under Bush: "If George Bush were to be reelected, given the way he has gone

Mr. Geraghty writes the Kerry Spot on National Review Online.

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about this war, and given his avoidance of responsibility in North Korea and Iran and other places, it is possible—I can't tell you. I will tell you this: I will not reinstate the draft."

Where did this draft rumor come from? Well, the idea has been used for scare-mongering in anti-war circles ever since Afghanistan. In September 2002, the Selective Service System put out a press release stating that "no heightened measures have been undertaken to bring the nation closer to the re-establishment of conscription." The rumor picked up steam nonetheless. Soon the Democrats found themselves with a presidential nominee who polled so poorly among young people that he made Al Gore look like Lil' Kim—and the stage was set for a major smear campaign.

In the first two weeks of September, comments speculating that President Bush would restore the draft issued from Teresa Heinz Kerry, John Edwards, Ted Kennedy, Tom Harkin, Max Cleland, Howard Dean, and Kerry's stepson André Heinz. This led to reports in college newspapers such as the one at Ohio's Kent State University, which reported on Sept. 8 that "George W. Bush is planning to reinstate the military draft by June 15, 2005."

The Democrats' partners in the media have covered this story without the slightest bit of logic or skepticism. The centerpiece of a Sept. 29 *CBS Evening News* story on the threatened draft was a woman named Beverly Cocco of Walton Park, Penn., who was shown in the report working as a crossing guard. Correspondent Richard Schlesinger said Cocco "usually worries about other people's kids," but is now more worried about her own sons—one of whom told CBS, "It's the [draft] talk. The talk's there. And though people aren't actually coming out and saying it, it's there." Schlesinger concluded by describing Cocco as "a Bush supporter today, but . . . Beverly could easily cross over."

What CBS did not mention is that Cocco is the head of the Philadelphia branch of an activist group called "Parents Against the Draft" that is sending out e-mails warning of a draft. When asked by blogger Bill Ardolino why anti-draft activist Cocco was selected as the story's focus, Schlesinger said, "Long story short, she's a Republican. When we put the story together, I went looking for a Republican. We worked backwards from the e-mail, that's how we found her. She told me that she was going to vote for Bush, though she said she may flip-flop." CBS producer Linda Karas told Ardolino: "The truth of the e-mails [warning about a draft was] absolutely irrelevant to the piece, because all the story said was that people were worried. It's a story about human beings that are afraid of the draft. We did not say that this [e-mail] was true, it's just circulating. We are not verifying the e-mail." Apparently Karas got the new slogan from her boss Dan Rather: *The truth is irrelevant.*

A draft card burns, December 1967

BETTMANN/CORBIS

Another blogger, William J. Dyer, noticed a June 17 letter to the editor from Cocco to the Trevose, Penn., *Northeast Times*. "Since this is a federal bill, I was advised to contact Sen. [Arlen] Specter, Sen. [Rick] Santorum, and Congressman Joe Hoeffel," Cocco wrote. "Sen. Specter's office said that these bills are a 'secret.'"

Of course, that was balderdash: There's no such thing as a "secret bill," and no phone-answering staffer in the U.S. Senate would tell a constituent that there is such a thing.

Hoeffel, the Democratic nominee in this year's U.S. Senate race, wrote a reply to the paper, stating that Cocco's letter contained one major inaccuracy—no, not that there's no such thing as a "secret bill," or that the draft rumors were bunk; instead, Hoeffel felt the need to emphasize that he opposes restoring the draft, and is not undecided, as Cocco's letter had said.

By July 6, he was denouncing conscription on the floor of the House: "I think it is inevitable that we will have a mandatory military draft. . . . Now, I think that is a fact of life. The president may not want to admit it. The secretary of defense may not want to own up to it. But I think the facts are that we cannot continue to meet our military obligations without a military draft under the policies that are being pursued by this administration."

You'd think there really were plans to have a draft. But the truth about the administration's position is clear and unambiguous. On Sept. 23, Secretary Rumsfeld told the Senate: "It is absolutely false that anyone in this administration is considering reinstating the draft. That is nonsense. We've got 295 million people in the United States of America. We need 1.4 million people to serve in the active force. We are having no trouble attracting and retaining the people we need." Secretary of State Colin Powell told ABC that "President Bush has no plans for a draft, nor is a draft needed." During a campaign appearance, Vice President Cheney agreed: "From the perspective of the Pentagon, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the secretary of defense, former secretary of defense, the president and everybody else, this notion that somehow there's a secret plan out there to reinstitute the draft is hogwash. It's just not true. It's an urban legend or a nasty political rumor, but it's not true." Even President Bush, in the first debate, said flatly, "The military will be an all-volunteer army." And the Republican House leadership is now bringing up the liberals' draft bill, so that it can be openly defeated on the House floor and the issue laid to rest.

None of this matters. The Democratic party has now, as a matter of strategy, adopted the logic of the conspiracy theorist. Just as the grassy-knoll types insist that the lack of evidence that a vast conspiracy assassinated John F. Kennedy is proof of the conspiracy's power and its effectiveness at covering its tracks, Democrats insist that the lack of any evidence of a secret Bush plan to restore the draft is evidence of how secret the plan is. A Kerry victory depends, in part, on the extent to which this fantasy can take hold among American voters. **NR**

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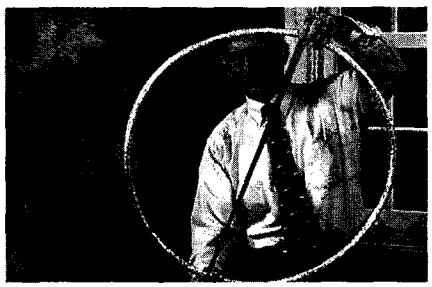

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■ **CAMPAIGN 2004 IV**

Kerry's Laws of War

The candidate's understanding means trouble for America, and the world

DAVID B. RIVKIN JR. & LEE A. CASEY

AFTER months of changing his position on Iraq, John Kerry has finally chosen a stance. In the first presidential debate, having criticized President Bush for launching "the wrong war, in the wrong place, at the wrong time," Kerry insisted that *he* could do a better job fighting terrorism. The senator, at least, seems sure of that; but to the remaining skeptics, there are still questions that need answering. In particular, since America's ability to prevail on today's battlefields—whether in the back alleys of Baghdad or the mountains of Afghanistan—depends on the decisive use of force, Kerry's views on the laws governing U.S. military activity are highly relevant.

Kerry addressed this issue at length in 1971, after his return from Vietnam. Speaking before the Senate, he harshly condemned as "war crimes" several types of American military operations in Vietnam—including aerial bombing, "free-fire zones," "harassment and interdiction" fire, and search-and-destroy missions. All of these tactics are, in fact, characteristic of the American way of war: i.e., the use of overwhelming force to achieve a prompt and definitive result. And all have been portrayed by anti-American activists as examples of illegal, "indiscriminate" combat methods.

Yet none of these tactics is in fact prohibited under the traditional laws of war. Indeed, as is now well documented, American bombing in Vietnam was far more discriminate than the Allied strategic-bombing campaigns of World War II, and was directed at military targets rather than population centers. Although civilians certainly died, the accepted legal principle of proportionality has always allowed for this possibility, tragic as it may be. Likewise, while opponents of the war (including some returning veterans like Kerry) claimed that free-fire zones were inherently illegal—suggesting that these were areas where anybody, including civilians, could be killed with impunity—the Pentagon defined that term simply as an area where attacks against *enemy combatants* could be initiated without prior authorization. (Today, many areas of Iraq fit this definition.) Similarly, the Vietnam War's harassment-and-interdiction fire—designed to disrupt enemy movements and to "shape" a battlefield—and search-and-destroy missions would have been illegal only if they were deliberately aimed at civilians, or civilian objects, that had not already been dragooned into the enemy's service. (Since U.S. forces in Iraq are facing an enemy that deliberately launches attacks from schools, mosques, and hospitals, and hides among the civilian population, search-and-destroy missions and the use of artillery fire and air strikes against urban areas remain an indispensable part of American tactics.)

In the decades since Vietnam, activists have continued to claim that American-style warfare, which places a premium on protecting our troops and balances the likelihood of injury to civilians against the importance of the military objective, is unlawful. They have come to champion instead a domestic-policing model for warfare, under which force may be utilized only as a last resort, and then only at the minimum level necessary to "arrest" a "suspect." Cooperating with representatives of the "developing world" who sought to legitimize irregular or guerrilla warfare, they managed to enshrine much of this view in the 1977 Protocol I Additional to the Geneva Conventions. Fortunately, in 1987, President Reagan flatly rejected that treaty, because it benefited terrorists instead of Americans. Nevertheless, as U.S. military superiority grew in the 1990s, many seized on this new version of the laws of war as a means of constraining American power. Indeed, using a strategy that one commentator has aptly named "lawfare," many European critics have claimed that Protocol I's innovations—which would give the guerrilla tactics favored by al-Qaeda and its allies in the Iraqi insurgency significant advantages—are binding on the United States as "customary" international law, merely because *their* governments have embraced that instrument.

Before the September 11 attacks, all of this was largely an academic debate. Today, however, the ability and willingness to use military force robustly is critical to America's security, and a prerequisite for the job of commander-in-chief. In the War on Terror, the enemy does not distinguish itself from the civilian population, operates in a dozen countries, has access to military-style arms and training, and has renounced any notion of "law" in war—including the fundamental prohibitions against deliberately targeting civilians.

But Kerry's views on how—as opposed to when—military force can be used have, to date, gone largely unexamined. It is a safe bet that he did not actually believe that American tactics in Vietnam were "war crimes"—given the alacrity with which he, and the other Vietnam Veterans Against the War, confessed to offenses that, then as now, carry the severest criminal penalties. Still, Kerry has never repudiated his statements before the Senate and the American people in 1971, nor did he apologize for the damage his malicious claims did to the young men who remained in Southeast Asia after he came home. Moreover, during his campaign for the Democratic party's nomination, Kerry suggested that the War on Terror would be better prosecuted as a law-enforcement matter. It is useful to consider what the adoption of a "law enforcement" paradigm—promoted by European elites since 9/11—would have produced over the past three years.

First and foremost, it would have meant that the United States could not, and cannot, use its armed forces to combat al-Qaeda—and certainly could not have attacked that organization's bases in Afghanistan, or anywhere else. If the War on Terror is not a war, then the United States must deploy investigators and prosecutors, not the military. It must obtain indictments against terror suspects, and

Messrs. Rivkin and Casey are partners in the Washington, D.C., office of Baker & Hostetler LLP. They served in the Justice Department during the Reagan and George H. W. Bush administrations.

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John Edmiston (Reporter) ***Wall Street Journal,*** June 9, 2004
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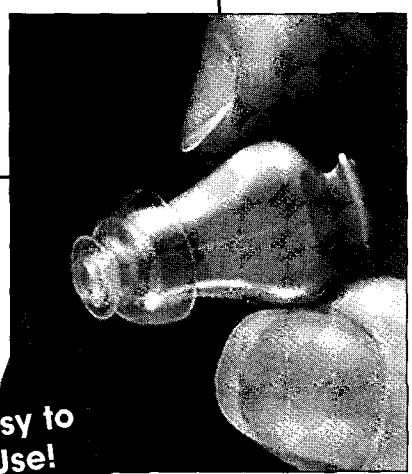

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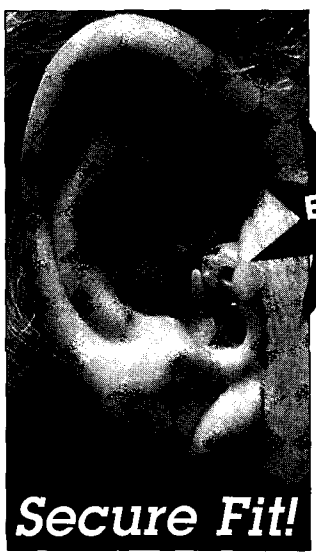

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seek their extradition. In the unlikely event that a high-level Qaeda operative were arrested and extradited from a place like the Taliban's Afghanistan (recall that they refused to turn over Osama bin Laden because he was the honored "guest" of that regime), the individual would be entitled to a public, criminal trial, during which all of the intelligence that led to his capture would become fair game for the defense. If the government could not prove his guilt beyond a reasonable doubt, the defendant would be free to continue "hostilities" against the United States. If the result were another attack like September 11, or worse, that would just be America's tough luck.

The laws of war, of course, allowed a more vigorous response. They are, it is true, less protective of individual rights than are civilian legal codes, and this has led countless civil libertarians—on both the right and the left—to condemn the Bush administration's invocation of the laws of armed conflict in the fight against al-Qaeda. However, criminal law and the civilian court system were not designed to prevent attacks—certainly not of the military nature and scope the United States has suffered at al-Qaeda's hands over the past decade. Rather, the justice system is designed to identify and punish wrongdoers principally after the fact, in the hope that their punishment will deter others in the future. It is effective only in the context of a society that is, by and large, law-abiding to begin with, and in which the government has both a legal and practical monopoly on the use of force. This simply does not describe the conditions the United States faces with respect to al-Qaeda.

Similarly, preserving the traditional laws of war is essential to the success of American operations in Iraq. Our enemy there, whether Baathist loyalists or Qaeda "foreign fighters," is ruthless and determined. The application of Protocol I-type norms would give terrorists substantial advantages over U.S. forces, and all but guarantee our failure—prolonging and complicating the counterinsurgency campaign, as Protocol I was originally designed to do. Given the stakes involved, American voters should reflect carefully on John Kerry's record on the laws of war, and consider whether—despite his current macho rhetoric—he would defend and embrace vital U.S. military doctrine. **NR**

■ **CAMPAIGN 2004 V**

My Candidate!

But not necessarily the right one

ROB LONG

ONCE, years ago, I had dinner with John Kerry. It was almost exactly twelve years ago, on the eve of Bill Clinton's big election—which is a sentence, by the way, that, if repeated in a pidgin racist Chinese-houseboy accent, produces a hilarious and meaningful double entendre. I'll pause while you try it.

Got it?

Anyway, twelve years ago, in Boston, on the eve of Clinton's you-know-what, I was sitting at dinner with a few members of the cast and crew of *Cheers*—at the time, the highest-rated, longest-running comedy on television—and our guest that evening was Senator Kerry. I was across the table from him, and it didn't seem to bother him that I was 1) a Republican or 2) 27 years old because 3) I was the co-executive producer of the show, which he clearly thought meant something in the campaign-finance department.

The conversation turned, as it always did back then when I was out with my lefty colleagues, to Clinton's impending victory. Who, they all wanted to know, did *I* think was going to be the next president?

Now, this was late October 1992, and the only living creature who *didn't* know in his bones that George H. W. Bush was toast was George H. W. Bush, but when I shrugged diffidently and said, "Clinton, obviously," what I got from Senator Kerry was an incredulous "Really?"

"Looks that way," I said. "Although, apparently, Joe Biden and Dick Gephardt don't think so. I heard that both of them have already rented office space in Iowa and New Hampshire for '96."

The senator stared at me. "Really?" he asked, vaguely alarmed. "*Really?*"

"Well, no," I said. "That last part was a joke. It's going to be Clinton, Senator, I'm pretty sure."

And with his mind at ease, the conversation turned to other things.

So naturally, twelve years later, I'm rooting for John Kerry to win.

Now, now: Don't turn this into a whole big thing. What I'm saying is that as someone who attempts to extrude a certain portion of political and social comedy twice a month, the notion of a Kerry presidency is almost too delicious to pass up. What possibilities! The ponderous self-importance! The pomposity! The flatulent rhetoric! The impossibly high self-regard! Kerry's what every professional humorist needs: a big, gassy balloon, stretched thin by hot air and prickly, princely arrogance, ready for the popping.

Think about it: What makes the Marx Brothers movies so funny isn't really their zany antics or surreal dialogue. What makes them funny is Margaret Dumont, the heavyset grande dame who lumbers through the pictures like a, well, hot-air balloon. Without her to mock and swindle and set up for humiliation, the movies wouldn't really work. Without a humorless, pompous, rich old fool, it would just be four Jewish boys bouncing off the walls.

Every comic needs a straight man, the saying goes. That's the normal guy who stands next to the funny guy and sets him up: "Say, friend, where can a fella get a square meal around here?" or "You went fishing yesterday, eh? Did you catch anything?" And that's true, of course, but it doesn't really apply here. A straight man is in on the joke. He turns to the audience, Jack Benny-style, rolls his eyes and gets a laugh. A comic buffoon, by contrast, is blissfully, hilariously ignorant.

Kerry, like Margaret Dumont, isn't a straight man. He doesn't have the functioning sense of humor that the job requires. (Margaret Dumont herself, the legend goes, was equally baffled by her co-stars' shtick.) When Kerry swanned out to the lectern at the Democratic convention and did that pompous salute, I thought to myself *Thank you, Lord! I'm voting Dumont/Edwards '04.* Try to see it from my point of view: Four years of that and I may be able to put in that swimming pool I've been thinking about.

And professionally speaking, the Bush administration has been a disaster. Tight-

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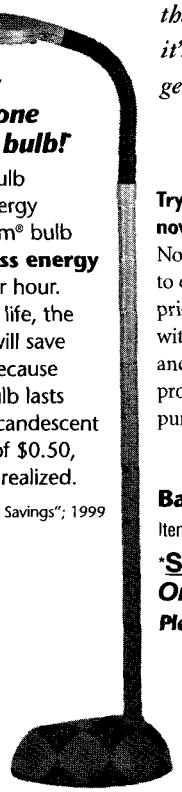

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lipped, on-message, fanatically bland discipline freaks are comedy death, let me tell you. And the candidate himself hasn't been very useful, either. Yes, yes: He mangles words and twists his syntax. And? Ever hear of a comedian named Norm Crosby? Ever wonder why he never made it really big? There's only so far you can go with one basic joke. Even if we accept the left-wing caricature of the president and assume he's a dunce, that still leaves a pretty narrow margin for comedy. As a ridiculously well-compensated certified comedy craftsman, I'll take the empty gasbag over the village idiot any day.

I'm perfectly aware, though, that my standards in these matters may not be, shall we say, the most elevated. I'm looking for material. You, on the other hand, may be looking for a steadfast vision for the War on Terror, or a commitment to transform Iraq, or a tax cut, or . . . something even less comedy-appropriate. If that's the case, you may be in trouble with President Margaret Dumont. What makes for rich comedy doesn't make for effective leadership.

The next four years, it's safe to say, won't really be about tax cuts, health care, education, or alternative energy. The next four years are going to be about transforming the Middle East. In show-business terms, we're all starring in the most expensive *Extreme Makeover* show ever—and we've only made it to the first commercial break.

So the reason Kerry's creepy pomposity is so worrying to those people who do not see everything though an entertainment-industry lens—and there are people like that, I'm told—is that inflated self-adoring blowhards are incredibly easy to trick. Rufus T. Firefly, the Groucho Marx character in *Duck Soup*, makes short work of Mrs. Teasdale (played by the inimitable Sen. John Kerry). And in *A Night at the Opera*, the crafty and swindling Otis B. Driftwood (played by many actors, including Kim Jong Il, Kofi Annan, Jacques Chirac, Bashar Assad, Yasser Arafat, and the entire membership of the trial lawyers' association) runs circles around the hapless, smug Mrs. Claypool (John Kerry in another dazzling, sidesplitting performance).

As a ridiculously well-compensated certified comedy craftsman, I'll take the empty gasbag over the village idiot any day.

Film buffs, of course, will be sure to remind us that Kerry's performance as the credulous nonentity takes its inspiration from the ancients. Jimmy Carter, as we'll all recognize, has played this kind of part before, and better: As the serenely confident envoy to North Korea, certain of his own magnificent powers of persuasion, he tangled with crafty madman Kim Jong Il in *Kiss Me! I'm Nuts!* and ended up signing a treaty that the North Koreans were *already* violating. Senator Kerry, with his love of summits and meetings and the sound of his own voice, clearly wants a remake.

He'll have lots of help. He's gathering a cast of fellow pompous windbags as I write. His future secretary of state, Richard Holbrooke, playing the part of Lil' Wise Man in *Hatin' in Dayton 1995*, managed, through sheer Dumontery and self-love, to convince himself that the Dayton Peace Accords, which with fantastic comic unpredictability *preceded* the war in Kosovo, were worth the paper they were printed on. Fantastic! We were rolling in the aisles! And his friends in the news media—Dan Rather, Peter Jennings, Tom Brokaw, and the rest of the stars of *The Ladies Who Lunch*—are circling the studio in makeup, ready for their close-ups. They have a natural affinity for a candidate whose only strategy to win the War on Terror is to talk, to meet, to pose, to preen, and to revel in his own oozing speech. I mean, that's what they do all day, too. It would be hard to write the same movie about, say, a shorter, squintier guy with a cracker accent. Bush doesn't belong in a comedy, really—oh, sure, the mixed-up-words thing is good for *relief*, maybe, but where he really belongs is in a war picture. He's the grouchy sergeant, the grim-faced captain, the enlisted guy stirring a pot of beans. In a surreal anti-war comedy like *Duck Soup* he'd be lost, because *Duck Soup* is about "war," not, you know, *war*. Bush is a stubborn guy—that's pretty clear to everyone—but there's a difference between stubbornness, which at its worst devolves into peevish grouching, and pomposity, which at its worst devolves into convincing yourself that owing to your brilliant and nuanced summitry, no more planes will fly into no more buildings. Which movie do you want to watch?

In fact, *Duck Soup* is awfully funny. There's a great scene in which Rufus T. Firefly tries to woo the rich, widowed Mrs. Teasdale. Groucho swoons around Margaret Dumont, and her eyes light up with delight. Groucho asks about her dead husband: "Will you marry me? Did he leave you a lot of money? Answer the second question first." She tells him that yes, he did indeed leave her his entire fortune. "Can't you see what I'm trying to tell you?" Groucho says immediately. "I *love* you!"

I wonder: Is that how it went with you-know-who and you-know-who-Heinz-Kerry? **NR**

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My name is George Rayburn. I am Dr. Sjuggerud's Publisher.

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■ COVER STORY

What Went Wrong?

The miscalculations and missteps that led to the current situation in Iraq

RICHARD LOWRY

By now, anyone who can't recite the standard critique of what has gone wrong in the Iraq war just hasn't been paying attention.

It goes something like this: There was no post-war planning. What little planning took place was spearheaded by the State Department, and then maliciously ignored by the ideologues at the Pentagon, who didn't want to hear a discouraging word about managing a liberated Iraq. Consumed by Rumsfeld's fixation on light forces, the Pentagon skimped on troop levels and ignored the advice of its commanders. Anyone who said anything inconvenient about the war was systematically punished. In this narrative, "Pentagon civilian" becomes a dirty phrase.

Almost every particular of this indictment is wrong. It has been created by liberal journalists such as James Fallows and David Rieff (with the help of disgruntled State Department leakers), entered the slipstream of conventional wisdom, and been repeated endlessly by John Kerry in the presidential campaign. These critics start from the premise that if a sparrow falls somewhere in Iraq, it must be the Pentagon's fault.

In fact, if one is playing a 20/20 second-guessing game over Iraq, the pure Defense Department pre-war vision that wasn't implemented would have avoided one of the pitfalls of what transpired: an occupation that alienated Iraqis and gave the U.S. sole control and responsibility over events in Iraq. The Pentagon favored the creation of an Iraqi government even before the invasion. And it pushed from the very beginning for a serious effort to train indigenous Iraqi forces, which would have given us a head start on what is now the consensus solution to Iraq's woes: that very training, so that Iraqis can carry on the fight for their country themselves.

Obviously, mistakes have been made in Iraq, including by the Pentagon. The story of the Iraq post-war is, in part, a tale of gross intelligence failures, debilitating intramural battles, miscommunications, unintended consequences, and counterproductive half-measures. Some of these missteps were the result of the inevitable uncertainties and surprises of warfare, others of incompetence, and many of something in between. What follows is drawn from interviews with current and former officials from across the U.S. government: from Defense, State, the National Security Council, the Coalition Provisional Authority, and the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM). (Because of the sensitivity of the matters discussed, most everyone insisted on anonymity.)

If the picture portrayed here of Iraq operations is distressing, it isn't because these sources were, or are, doubters about the Iraq war. They all supported it, and continue to do so. Many conservative defenders of the Bush administration have taken to shrugging in reaction to the course of events in Iraq, "Things always go wrong in warfare." They do, but failing to examine the specific ways they went wrong is a cop-out. A look at the record in Iraq means confronting this hard fact: The Bush administration didn't know what it was getting into in Iraq, and then found itself stumbling into exactly the sort of heavy-handed occupation many American officials had wanted to avoid.

'A QUICK COLLAPSE SAVES LIVES'

The level of troops in Iraq has been a constant source of contention, and a constant point of criticism of the Pentagon. Left and Right alike have argued that in invading with 150,000 troops, the administration didn't have adequate numbers to do the job. But every strategic choice has its benefits and drawbacks. If more troops would have enhanced security in the aftermath of the war (a debatable proposition, as we will see), the lighter and more mobile force had significant advantages in the prosecution of it. "The decision was made to collapse the regime as quickly and violently as possible," says a senior administration official. The most important advantage of this approach, he says, was simple: "A quick collapse saves American lives and Iraqi lives."

It served other objectives as well. It made it possible to take the oilfields—crucial to Iraq's rebuilding—mostly intact before Saddam had time to destroy them. And there was the political

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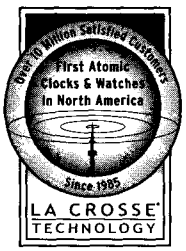

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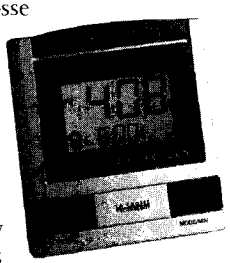

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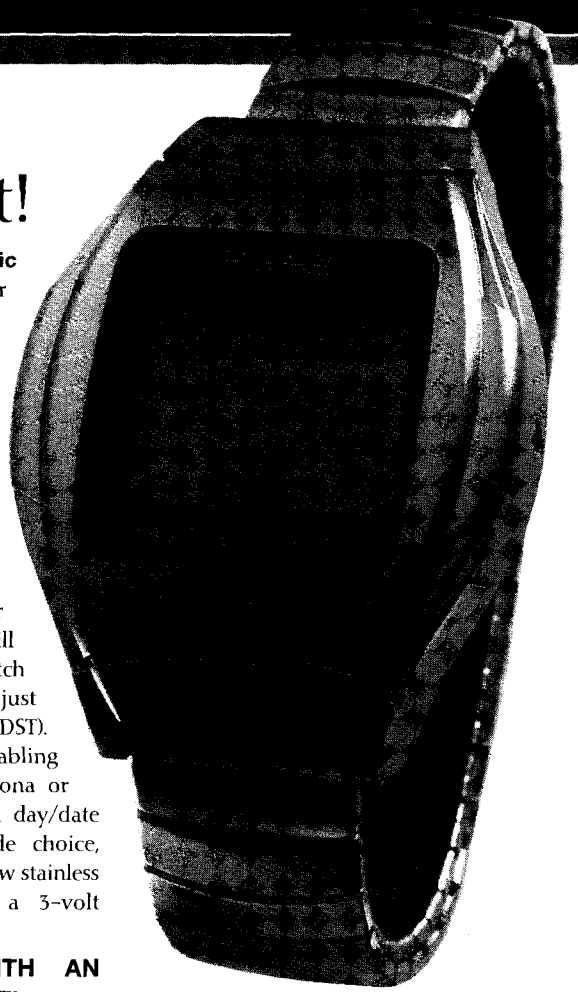

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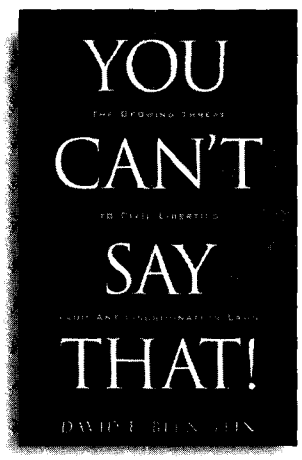

You Can't Say That!

The Growing Threat to Civil Liberties from Antidiscrimination Laws

by David E. Bernstein

In a misguided attempt to eradicate every vestige of "discrimination" in our society, activists and courts are using antidiscrimination laws to erode civil liberties such as free speech, the free exercise of religion, and freedom of association. Civil rights laws today are being applied in ways that threaten free speech on campus and in the workplace, the right of local community activists to speak out against government policies, the rights of private associations such as the Boy Scouts to determine their membership policies, and even the rights of individuals to choose their roommates.

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consideration. It was thought important to avoid a drawn-out war, and the destabilizing effect it might have on the region. "You don't want an American army slogging its way to an Arab capital," is how one official puts it. Another official familiar with the planning explains, "We identified a large number of risks, many of which quite obviously would have been made worse—graver, more likely to happen—if the war were prolonged, and if we could not achieve tactical surprise."

Amazingly enough, the U.S. did achieve such surprise. "Tommy Franks had 200,000 troops on the border of a country and still achieved tactical surprise when he invaded," a former defense official says. "When has that ever happened before?" We gained that advantage by suffering a significant diplomatic setback. We had wanted to send the 4th Infantry Division through Turkey to northern Iraq. Turkey refused—so the war began with the 4th Infantry Division still sitting in the Mediterranean.

"Saddam knew we were coming," says one official. "But he didn't know when. It appears that Saddam thought that we weren't going to start the war without the 4th Infantry Division. There were spools of wire and explosive material for bridges and for oil facilities that had been deployed to the area but were not yet hooked up. This showed the intention—but also that they thought they had time. That's pretty powerful evidence of surprise."

The theory of the war itself was borne out close to exactly. "We thought the regime was fairly brittle," an official explains. "If we got past the major Iraqi forces in the south and along [Saddam's] lines of communication closer to Baghdad, we could fracture the regime and not meet head-on his heaviest forces. Saddam would not be able to command and control those formations. That's what happened."

'PROBABLY TOO GRACIOUS IN OUR VICTORY'

And that's when things began to go wrong. The brilliant and successful war plan had unintended consequences. "You collapse the regime so quickly that the army, the security apparatus, ends up reconstituting because you didn't defeat it," an official says. The inadvertent Turkey gambit had its cost, too. Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman Gen. Richard Myers has said publicly that coming through Turkey to drive into the Sunni Triangle in force "would have helped somewhat with the current situation." Privately, officials are more categorical. One says, "I think we are paying for that to this day."

Bush critics would never put it this way, but a failing of the invasion plan turned out to be its excess of humanitarianism. "We wanted this to be as humane as a combat operation—as war—can be," General Myers told the Senate Armed Services Committee in June. "[The idea was] to let regular Iraqi divisions [go], while destroying equipment and some of their people. If they melted away, then let them melt away, because they were conscripts, after all. So if there is a blame here, it was making some assumptions on how the Iraqi people would react to that, and I would submit we were probably too gracious in our victory in hindsight."

This is a recurring theme. Over and over again in Iraq, the administration would demonstrate a lack of the necessary toughness to succeed: in how it conducted the initial war, how it handled the post-war looting, and how it approached the problem of restive cities such as Fallujah. Even in the post-war planning, it was the soft side of the enterprise, the potential humanitarian crisis, that was given priority. In Iraq, the conciliatory gesture, the half-measure, took priority over the work of smashing the enemy and establishing order. In this sense, the number of troops mattered less than what they were told to do, or not do.

But the most widely circulated criticism of the war is still simply that the U.S. didn't have enough troops. In the most stilted and politicized version of this critique, the administration is said to have ignored the express wishes of its commanders. This line of attack is dependent on the mythology surrounding Army chief of staff Gen. Eric Shinseki. He told a congressional committee prior to the war that it would take "several hundred thousand" troops to pacify Iraq. Critics claim that he was forced out for making this inconvenient estimate. But Shinseki had already been on the outs with Rumsfeld for his resistance to the defense secretary's transformation plans. He retired on schedule, which it had been clear he would do well before his statement about troop levels. Even if the U.S. did need more troops in Iraq, the Shinseki number of several

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hundred thousand—is that 300,000? more?—was clearly absurd.

Immediately after the war, widespread looting occurred. This is taken as a sign not just that there weren't enough troops, but that there was inadequate post-war planning. "Not preventing the looting was a huge mistake," says former CPA official Michael Rubin (an occasional contributor to NR and National Review Online), "but the problem wasn't a lack of planning on the part of DoD civilians or the State Department." CENTCOM divides a war, from pre-deployment to the post-war, into four phases. There was plenty of planning for Phase 3, the decisive operations of the war, and Phase 4, post-war stability operations. But the transition between the two was fumbled. "We can do all the planning we like," says Rubin, "but someone needs to make the call as to when Phase 3 ends."

CENTCOM basically said that the fall of Baghdad did not bring the end of Phase 3 because there wasn't security yet. Jay Garner, who was charged with leading the post-war as head of the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA), said there wasn't security yet because Phase 4 operations that would reassure and win over the population hadn't started. "This is a very hazy, fog-of-war transition to make," says a senior administration official. "It was clearly a stumbling block." It was an area that could have used Rumsfeld's attention, and that of national security adviser Condoleezza Rice, whose job it is to impose coherence on U.S. national security policy.

At least some policy staff from State and Defense wanted commanders on the ground to guard buildings and shoot the looters, according to one official involved. But commanders were reluctant to put their men at risk for what they thought were just political objectives after they had already won the war. "People below Rumsfeld," says the official, "were saying, 'You have to shoot the looters,' but he didn't want to overrule his commanders."

Tommy Franks and his team didn't give the impression that they were eager to undertake stability operations. "Franks was supposed to plan for what CENTCOM called Phase 4, the period after major combat operations," says an official. "He knows that he has a responsibility for safety and stability in the country. He obviously concluded—I'm inferring—that he would have the resources available to fulfill this mission as the military occupier after major combat operations." But this official adds, "He was a Phase 3 kind of general." Another official says, "One of the unanswered questions is, 'What was Tommy Franks doing?'"

"Did we need more MPs [military police]?" Franks deputy Gen. Mike DeLong asks. "Yes. But we were funneling all our people through Kuwait and we couldn't get the MPs through there fast enough." Just prior to the war, Saddam had emptied the jails. "We were still fighting the war," says DeLong, "with all those criminals loose. We can't get our MPs in fast enough, but we don't want to pull out our front-line troops to guard buildings because they're still fighting Saddam's forces in other parts of the country." They guarded buildings they thought would be targeted, such as the key ministries, but other buildings were left defenseless.

The war ended on May 1. On May 22, the retirement of Tommy Franks was announced, a pretty stark statement of his lack of interest in Phase 4. "I was stunned by that, stunned," says one senior administration official. DeLong explains, "We had been fighting since the [attack on the USS] *Cole*, three years without a day off. There was a time we had to go. We didn't have any more blood to give."

Even if the commanders had been enthusiastic about Phase 4, stopping the looting wouldn't have been easy. "You couldn't put a soldier on every street corner in a city the size of Los Angeles and expect to stop everything," says an administration official. More important, it was hard psychologically for officials who believed they were liberating a country to turn around and crack down on civilians. "It's like sending troops into Warsaw Square to arrest people for being too unruly in 1989," says a former defense official. A former CPA official says, "There was a real sense of euphoria right after the fall of the statue. You would have stamped out any goodwill right at the start." An administration official explains, "It's very hard to say what would have been the right thing to do, when American forces were told in the lead-up to the war that we didn't want to impose ourselves as occupiers, that they have a police force, that they understand the rule of law, and have a civic infrastructure that will provide for stability."

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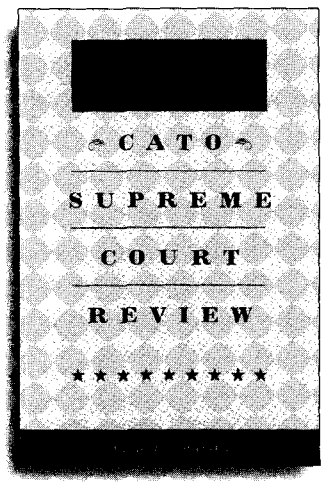

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'OUR INTELLIGENCE WAS VERY LIMITED'

All that proved wrong. Even though everyone knew that the military had to provide for stability and that there was a risk of public disturbances, the breadth and ferocity of the looting came as a shock. "We had no idea people would run into the bathrooms of public buildings and run off with the toilets and the sinks," says one official. "It's not something we contemplated as a possibility. We could not believe that the population would, in a revenge-like manner, strip away all the vestiges of Saddam's government and that government's infrastructure." He adds, "None of the estimates I saw anticipated that kind of looting."

It was a blow to the Iraqis' confidence in the U.S. It led to a conspiracy theory about how we wanted to punish the Iraqis through disorder, and it meant that people were sent home from work because their office equipment had been stolen. "It created a general atmosphere of lawlessness from which we didn't recover," says a former occupation official. Larry Diamond, another former official, argues, "That sent the signal of a lack of control that gave a lot of ideas to the jihadists and insurgents."

We were left to start almost from scratch.

Missing the possibility of such widespread looting was just one way in which the intelligence was flawed. "Our intelligence about Iraq was very limited," says a senior administration official. "The intelligence community got a lot of things wrong, not simply the WMD. They did not understand the exact role of Iraqi police. They thought the police would be usable. We had no other basis for knowing that, to the contrary, police were viewed as political and an instrument of oppression." And "that was the basis of ORHA, of the CPA," says another official. "We based the plan on standing up the Iraqi police. It turned out that the corruption went so deep into the ranks that the police were useless. It meant a major recalibration of our plan that is going on to this day. It was an intelligence failure of the first magnitude."

Then there was the state of the infrastructure. One official involved in post-war planning recalls seeing the state of the infrastructure, which the U.S. had gone out of its way to avoid bombing during the war, on his first post-war visit to Iraq: "We were shocked." He explains, "Saddam had skimmed the money off the Oil for Food program and spent it on his palaces and basically nothing else. That was never picked up on. The infrastructure was so dilapidated. It added billions and billions to the reconstruction job."

Combine the rottenness of the infrastructure with the looting, and we were left to start almost from scratch. "When that violence, that looting, petered out," says an official, "we were left with an essential-services infrastructure [water, sewer, electricity] that was archaic to start with and now almost destroyed, and a governmental infrastructure [police, the ministries] that had abandoned its posts." The food-distribution network was so backward and irrational, it was almost incomprehensible. As one official puts it, "It was a process which a First World person from, say, USAID, would look at and say, 'I don't even know how a person would work through these problems.'" This was how Iraqis did things, he notes, "despite being touted as one of the most educated populaces in the Middle East."

That all this went wrong has created the idea that there was no post-war planning, or that all of it was based on a willfully rosy scenario. "We did a lot of thinking about what could go wrong in Iraq," says one official. "The standard line in the fever swamps is, 'We had one source of information in Iraq—Ahmad Chalabi [founder and leader of the main exile group, the Iraqi National Congress]. He told us everything was going to be a cakewalk.' As if we are complete idiots."

'DOZENS AND DOZENS OF BRIEFINGS'

Before the war, Rumsfeld had been willing to look at the worst case. He prepared a memo for the president that listed everything defense officials could think of that might go wrong. "Literally, for two or three pages," says an official familiar with the memo, "with an item per line, he went through all the things that could go wrong with a war in Iraq: mass starvation, large numbers of international refugees, the blowing up of oil facilities, Scud-missile attacks on Israel, the overthrow of governments throughout the region, terrorist attacks in the U.S. and elsewhere, and on and on. He produced maybe 50, 60 of these hair-raising possibilities."

In late summer 2002, the NSC created the Executive Steering Group (ESG), a high-level body tasked with preparing for the post-war. "There were dozens and dozens of briefings, for vetting and approval, regarding the post-war," says an administration official. Interagency planning groups—the Iraq Pol-Mil Planning Cell, the Coalition Working Group, the Humanitarian Reconstruction Group, and the Energy Infrastructure Working Group—fed into the ESG. As did the work of other planners at State, Treasury, Commerce, CIA, OMB, and USAID. The ESG's work, in turn, went up the chain from the deputies to the principals to the president. "It was the standard NSC flow," says an official.

In January 2003, Bush signed NSPD-24, which led to the creation of the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance, charged with implementing the planning on the ground in Iraq and to be run by Garner. In addition, the military had its own planning group, the so-called JTF-4 that produced a 300-page op-order for Phase 4, the post-war operation.

Bush critics pretend that there was no planning besides that which took place through the State Department's Future of Iraq Project. It is alleged that the Pentagon ignored all the important planning done under this project for ideological and turf reasons. But the sprawling project was uneven, sometimes had an academic air, and didn't create an action plan, certainly not to deal with the dire problems that would face the coalition in Baghdad. The portions of its work that were considered relevant weren't ignored. They were briefed up to the higher levels of the administration, and used.

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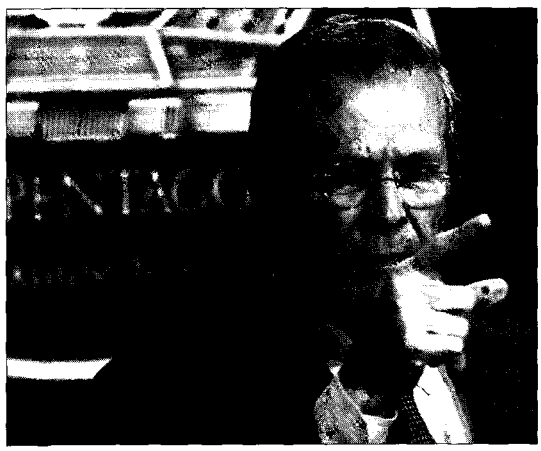
"Because it was the State Department, the project had a lot to do with justice and human rights," says an official, "not so much with looking at basic services." Bush critics have portrayed it as a panacea, but "it was not the answer to Phase 4. If we had taken the Future of Iraq Project and given it to ORHA and said, 'You can't deviate from this,' we still would have had a lot of the problems we encountered."

Some of the post-war planning turned out just fine—for instance, how to avoid a catastrophic collapse in the Iraqi currency, the dinar. "If we go in there and do it wrong," says one official, "we could destroy the value of billions of dollars of currency." But the planning overall was poorly coordinated. "Everyone thought they were doing *all* the planning," says one official of the disparate efforts. And a lot of it turned out to be for the wrong thing. The administration was prepared for an epic humanitarian disaster. "We were ready to take in Iraqi displaced persons," says one official, "because we thought that was the most likely scenario." Instead, public disorder was the biggest challenge. "They were prepared for a worst-case scenario on the humanitarian front and not on the political front and the security front," says Larry Diamond.



'The philosophy Rumsfeld had was . . . to empower the Iraqis.'

The level of the security challenge rendered a lot of the planning moot. According to one official, "The planning was so advanced that we were planning for the future bases of U.S. forces, where they would stay during Phase 4. We were laying out training ranges, making sure the soldiers would be able to continue their training while they would be in stability operations and humanitarian and civil-affairs work, helping the Iraqis stand back up their government. But we didn't know we would have to provide as much security as we would have to provide."

'WHAT ARMITAGE DOES FOR A LIVING'

And so, Jay Garner, the retired three-star general heading ORHA, was thrown into an Iraq that had, against expectations, been looted bare, where the police had disappeared, and where infrastructure was decrepit or destroyed. There were still other surprises for Garner. "Another thing that the intelligence community told us was that there would be whole units of the Iraqi armed forces to come over to our side," says an official. "Jay Garner went there with an expectation that we were going to be able to use the Iraqi military for reconstruction."

Garner handled a bad situation badly. Rumsfeld had tapped him because of his work on Operation Provide Comfort, relieving the Kurds after the first Iraq war. But the humanitarian crisis he might have been suited to handle hadn't materialized. Instead he had a huge political and security problem on his hands.

He talked, absurdly, of convening a constitutional convention, writing a constitution, and holding an election all by August. He had a political tin ear, and the U.S. military didn't take him seriously. General DeLong says, "Initially we didn't get a powerful person into Iraq. Garner didn't have the muscle" to officiate between the military services and the State Department. "Here was a retired three-star general in there and not all the other generals thought he was that person"—the powerful person necessary.

Garner had expected to stay for 90 days, but was ushered out more quickly. If he was a failure, he wasn't a Pentagon failure. He surrounded himself with State Department and USAID officials. State not only waged turf battles (as did the Pentagon), but often won them. One official explains, "This is what [Colin Powell deputy Dick] Armitage does for a living: 'I want my guys in Baghdad.' That was out of control, and the DoD was just as guilty of that, but Armitage was winning these fights hand over fist."

State Department official Ryan Crocker, head of the Near East bureau, led Garner's political team. "That's the bureau that produced the Future of Iraq Project," says a different official. "There wasn't even an OSD [Office of Secretary of Defense] person doing political advice with Garner. If the people who did the Future of Iraq project think that their stuff was not picked up as it should have been, then what they're saying is that it wasn't picked up by the head of their own bureau in the State Department."

Garner was replaced by former ambassador Jerry Bremer, who was more a creature of the White House than the Pentagon, but ended up being something of an independent operator. With his arrival, the U.S. lurched into a full-fledged military occupation of a country in much worse shape than it had imagined. This represented a total defeat of the Pentagon's vision, which had been to avoid, or minimize, a U.S. occupation, by creating an Iraqi provisional government before the invasion or immediately after it. This was one of the many clashes between the State Department and Defense. State had wanted a Baghdad conference six or seven weeks after the occupation of Baghdad. The Department of Defense had wanted to set up an immediate government.

"We wanted to build on the theme of liberation, rather than occupation, and hand over more authority sooner. We would not have had an occupation government. That idea did not prevail. There was a lot of opposition throughout the government," says a defense official.

This would not necessarily have meant installing Ahmad Chalabi in power. The original conception was for a group of seven exiles, with a slot for a governor from each province as it became liberated. This approach was approved by consensus at a conference of the Iraqi opposition in February 2003 at Salahuddin in Iraqi Kurdistan. This meeting would have given the process—had it not been tossed aside—an Iraqi imprimatur. Such a government could have created the same situation as when sovereignty was handed over on June 28, 2004, only much sooner. Instead the compromise forged by the NSC had the U.S. picking a governing council after it was already occupying Iraq and running it according to the international law of occupation, thanks

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Twisted Words and Phrases (2)

More examples of Arab propaganda, giving new meaning to old words.

In the previous of this series of hasbarah (educating and clarifying) messages, we described how Arab propaganda systematically twists words and phrases so that eventually they come to mean almost the exact opposite of their original intent. We discussed "Terrorists and Freedom Fighters" and "Dishonor in the Muslim World." Here are two more examples of such twisting of language, and there are many more like it.

What are the facts?

"Palestinian land:" A great hue and cry has arisen about the Israeli barrier (called the "apartheid wall" by its noisy detractors). At a cost of billions of dollars, Israel has been forced to erect such a barrier in order to safeguard itself against constant murderous attacks that have so far cost over 1,000 Israeli lives and have hurt and mutilated thousands more.

Fourteen out of fifteen judges of the International Court of Justice have condemned this barrier as "illegal." The only laudable exception to this lopsided and totally unwarranted decision was that of the U.S. judge on this (otherwise kangaroo) court. What particularly agitated the judges was that this barrier allegedly intrudes on "Palestinian land." But, of course, there is no such thing as "Palestinian land." The Palestinians do not own any land in Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank"). That land, originally part of the Ottoman Empire, became part of the British Palestine mandate after the First World War and was allocated as part of the Jewish homeland by the Balfour Declaration. In the War of Liberation of 1948, right at the birth of Israel, the invading Jordanian army occupied that territory and assumed possession. In the Six-Day War, Israel repulsed the attack and stayed in possession of the territory.

Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") is therefore part of Israel. If at some future date Israel should decide to relinquish any part of that territory to a Palestinian entity, then it would indeed become Palestinian land. But right now, there is no such thing. "Palestinian lands" do not exist. It is a twisted phrase, created by Arab propaganda to score public relations points and to create confusion in an uninformed public.

"Arab humiliation:" A great deal of ink is being spent on "Arab humiliation" at the hands of the Israelis. There are almost daily stories in the papers deploring the "endless delays" that Arabs suffer at being stopped and interrogated and in some cases searched at one of the many check points. Those delays, which undoubtedly are major inconveniences and annoyances to the Arabs, have one purpose only, namely to reduce and to the degree possible to prevent altogether the passage of suicide bombers that have so far caused so many Jewish victims.

The Arabs have brought those miseries upon themselves with their "intifada," now over four years old. There were no check points and no delays before that started. And what could one say about women who, feigning pregnancy, carry explosives under their garments and blow up the female guards who examine them and all others around them? Or what about little children in ambulances who are supposedly in urgent need of quick passage (to a Jewish hospital), but who have bombs hidden in their gurneys, ready to explode and to kill?

> "Peace cannot come about until the Arab world is willing to wholeheartedly accept Israel and to forget about military action and the war of propaganda."

But how about the "humiliation" and annoyance that the Jews have to endure? For Jews, normal life in Israel has practically ended. Motorists in Israel expose themselves to a gauntlet of sniper fire on the highways. Most school trips have been canceled for fear of attack on the children, similar to what the Moslem barbarians have just perpetrated in Russia. Social occasions, such as weddings or bar mitzvahs, can't take place unless armed guards are provided. Restaurants, movies, stores and parking lots have to be heavily guarded. Arabs, on the other hand, can freely move through any part of Israel, the cities and the countryside, without any fear of attack. They need not protect their schools or their places of worship, their restaurants, grocery shops or other places where people gather. And they need not fear for their children and that Jews are going to blow them up.

The prevention of Islamic terror is an enormous burden on Israel. Fully three percent of the country's $40 billion GNP goes to protection against terror. The Palestinians brought their misery upon themselves, but the Jews suffer much more from the necessary security precautions than they do. "Arab humiliation" is a twisted phrase, invented and endlessly promoted by Arab propaganda in order to engage the sympathy of the world.

The Arab Moslems have launched three major wars against Israel and have engaged in a constant war of attrition, in order to destroy what they call the "Zionist entity" (another twisted phrase). Unable to defeat Israel militarily, they have resorted to an endless war of propaganda, in which twisted words and phrases play a major role. They have been quite successful at that. Peace cannot come about until the Arab world is willing to wholeheartedly accept Israel and to forget about military action and the war of propaganda. But that day, if it is to come at all, is not yet in sight.

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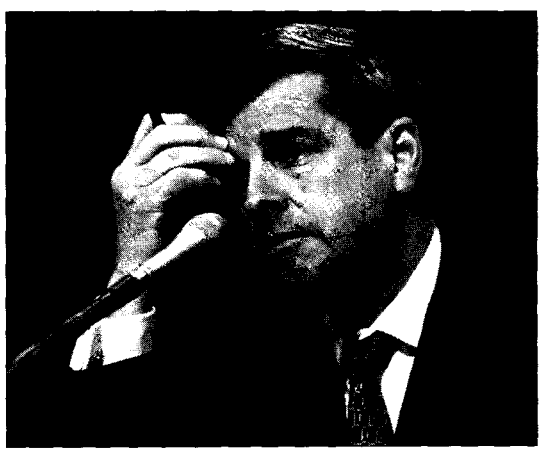
to the first post-war U.N. resolution (the British had insisted on the law-of-occupation language).

"The philosophy Rumsfeld had was that the goal should be from the very beginning to empower the Iraqis," says a former defense official. "If there is a legitimate criticism, it's the CPA being so heavy-handed for as long as it was. It was a violation of Rumsfeld's own principle that Iraq was for the Iraqis." Says another official: "That we would have a Jerry Bremer figure, that got people thinking of an occupation in Iraq. That was the fundamental error."

Bremer planned on a U.S. occupation that would last 18-24 months, much too long in the minds of many Pentagon officials. "We wanted it as short as possible," says one of them. "We eventually got it turned around." In the fall of 2003, Bremer was called back to Washington and the plan that eventually turned sovereignty back over to the Iraqis was adopted.



Bremer was taking ownership of a failed society.

'THEY TOOK THE URINALS OUT OF THE BARRACKS'

The problem was that Bremer was taking ownership of a failed society, and the occupation would inevitably be tarred with its failures. As the spring of last year turned into the summer, the mood began to sour, with the security situation worsening, with reconstruction therefore slowing, and with the sheer reality of the situation sinking in. A senior administration official explains, "An Iraqi sees that the sewage isn't any better, that there isn't 24/7 electricity and gas isn't available at a quarter a liter, and he says, 'I thought this would turn out differently.' He looks at raw sewage running down the middle of his street and says, 'This hasn't met my expectations.'"

This is by no means to say that Bremer per se was the problem. "The situation was nothing like we expected. There was much more resistance, much more violence, and much less control," says Larry Diamond. "We just weren't prepared." Bremer inherited an impossible situation—he was thrown into Iraq literally ten days after getting the assignment from the White House—and his powerful persona was needed to fill the post-Garner vacuum. "The good thing was," says an official, "you needed an assertion of authority. You needed somebody with a strong hand."

Everyone credits Bremer with great personal bravery, an ability to make tough decisions, and extraordinary organizational skills. His vision of the country's future was dogged and correct: a unified, democratic, and federal post-Saddam Iraq. Two of his biggest decisions have been widely panned, but were probably the right ones, even if they inevitably had drawbacks as well as benefits.

Bremer officially disbanded the Iraqi army, which the conventional wisdom says created disaffection that helped feed the insurgency. But the army had really disbanded itself. It was, in its essence, an instrument of repression. Shia conscripts weren't going to serve another day under the lash of Sunni officers. "They took the urinals out of the barracks," is how one official puts it, "and went home." Michael Rubin breaks it down this way: "The Shia conscripts left; the officers with skills went out and started their own businesses; the corrupt and incompetent officers stayed." The U.S. got a little taste of how trying to maintain Saddam's army would have worked in its April 2004 deal with former Baathist officers in Fallujah, who promised to police the city and promptly faded away or joined the other side.

The other Bremer decision generally considered a mistake is his de-Baathification order. It deprived the country of experienced governing talent, and the order eventually would, probably rightly, be moderated in its implementation. But given the realities of Iraq, something along the lines of Bremer's order was necessary. The future of the new Iraq could not be in the minority Sunnis attached to the benefits of Baathism, but had to be in the majority Shia and in the Kurds. These groups would have been justifiably alarmed at any attempt to reestablish the old order. "The decision was fundamentally correct," says one official. "Eighty percent of the country is Shia and Kurd. If we had looked like we were reconstituting the regime, we would have had a massive explosion in the rest of the country."

Former Bremer aide Dan Senor says of both decisions, on the army and de-Baathification, "The reason that the Shia let their guard down, the reason that the Kurds let their guard down, was that they saw we were taking serious steps to keep the Baathists from reemerging. If we hadn't done that, there may have been severe retribution against the Sunnis. And the Shia and Kurds might not have cooperated with us. Those symbolic steps were very important early on."

There would have been resistance in the Sunni heartland whatever Bremer did, since it appears that fading into the Sunni triangle was the strategy of the Saddamists from the beginning. Here was yet another unanticipated event that upset the administration's plans and expectations. "If there was any mistake we made, we thought that they would surrender, and we were wrong," says an administration official. The enemy had never been defeated, a rather large failing. This was one of the crucial differences between Japan and Germany on one hand and Iraq on the other—Japan and Germany had been crushed by the U.S., and so were ready to be compliant with their occupiers. Iraq never had this psychology of defeat.

'SOMEBODY PANICKED'

The Baathists lived to fight another day, in an insurgency that was yet another surprise. The *New York Times* recently reported on an intelligence document that allegedly warned of an insurgency. But that warning was in the final sentence of a 38-page report. It was not one of the report's key findings. "As far as I know," says an official familiar with the pre-war information, "I don't recall anyone at State or the CIA talking about this kind of insurgency."

The insurgency prompted yet more calls for more troops. But

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the insurgency was mainly an intelligence and political problem not susceptible to solution by sheer numbers. "You hear it all the time, but it's true," says a former CPA official. "The generals weren't asking for more troops. I was in plenty of meetings with them, and they weren't asking for more troops."

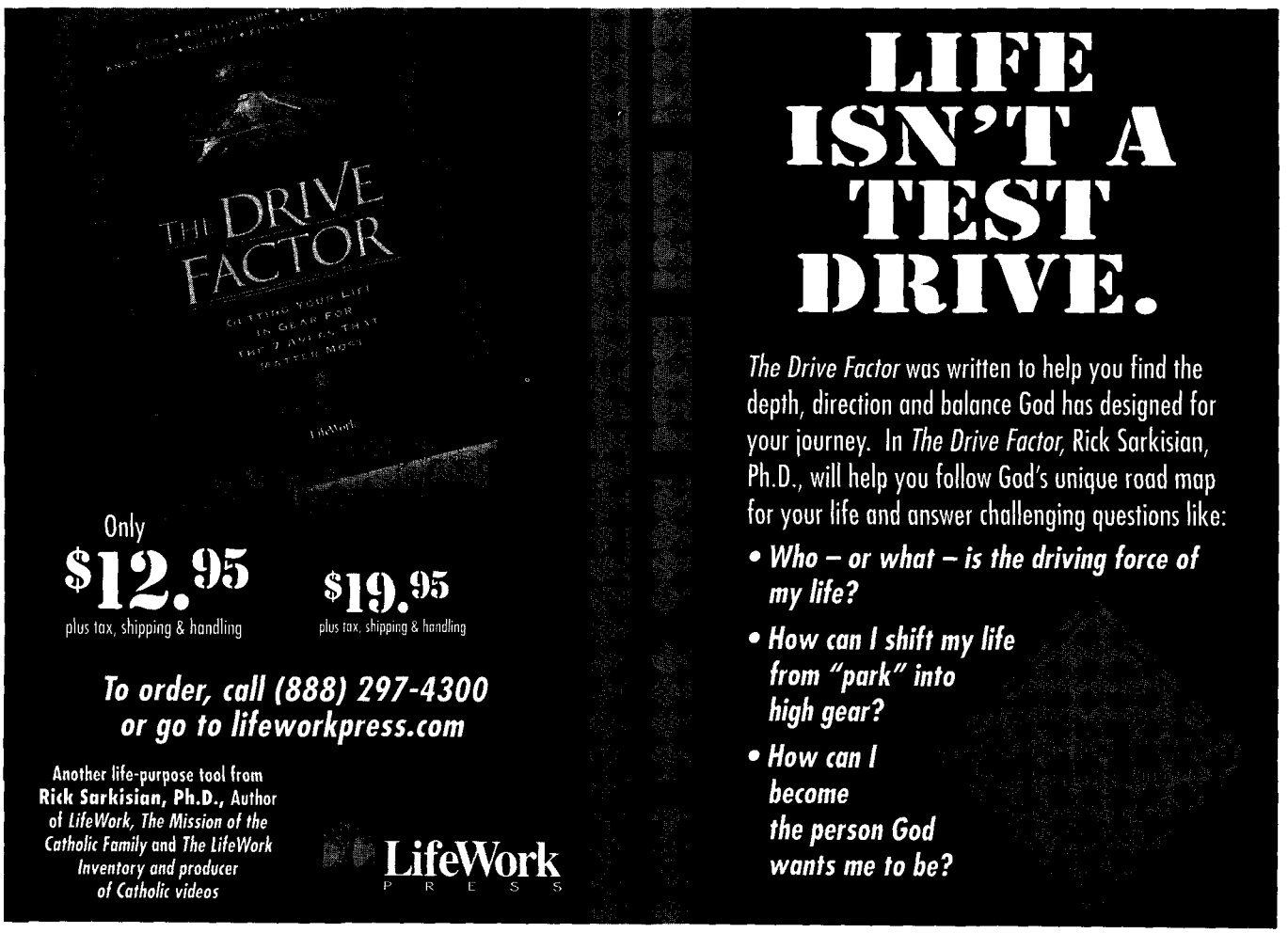
Initially, the U.S. didn't take the insurgency seriously enough. Then it tried to crush it on its own, failing to appreciate that it had begun to take on a nationalist character (partly fueled by the occupation) and that having Iraqi forces to deal with it was politically essential. The initial efforts to train Iraqi forces were proved inadequate by the Najaf and Fallujah revolts this April. Iraq wasn't originally thought to need a proper army, so the emphasis was on training police to handle street crime. When the insurgency began to intensify, the police were incapable of handling it. Now there is much more intensive training, but the U.S. is behind the curve on a task everyone agrees is fundamental.

Given how long training has taken, it would have made sense to have a head-start prior to the war. Again, this was the Pentagon's idea. It had plans to train up to 10,000 Iraqis out of the country, creating a major asset in the form of people who knew the language and knew the society—who were Iraqis. "Rumsfeld from the very beginning was focused on training Iraqi forces," says a former defense official. But military commanders considered them only a potential nuisance underfoot and resisted. The State Department worried that training Iraqi forces, as a harbinger of the coming conflict, would undermine diplomacy at the U.N., and questioned what would be done with them if there were no war. In the end, the U.S. trained a mere 71 Iraqis.

Iraqi forces were what was needed to deal with nettlesome problems like Fallujah. There had been some sort of major security incident in Fallujah almost every month from the end of 2003 until April 2004, when things came to a head with the murder and mutilation of four U.S. contractors. The story of how the Marines started to take Fallujah, and then stopped, is murky. Even senior administration officials are confused about how things came to pass. "Somebody panicked," says one official, "and it was a mistake."

The Marines were reluctant to go in, but did so on the basis of a plan they had told the civilian leadership wouldn't create massive civilian casualties. When the Marines attacked, reports of such casualties began to filter back to the CPA. These reports created a political firestorm, with Sunnis threatening to withdraw from the political process, which was then focused on creating a new interim government. Bremer called off the assault, which may have been just days from achieving its objective.

The reason for stopping was understandable, but in retrospect it was disastrously shortsighted. It led to an increase in car bombings around the country as the insurgents worked from their safe haven. The terror attacks have eaten away at the credibility of the Iraqi government and the U.S., while radicals have worked to replicate the success of Fallujah elsewhere in the Sunni Triangle. The Fallujah Brigade, charged with policing Fallujah, proved a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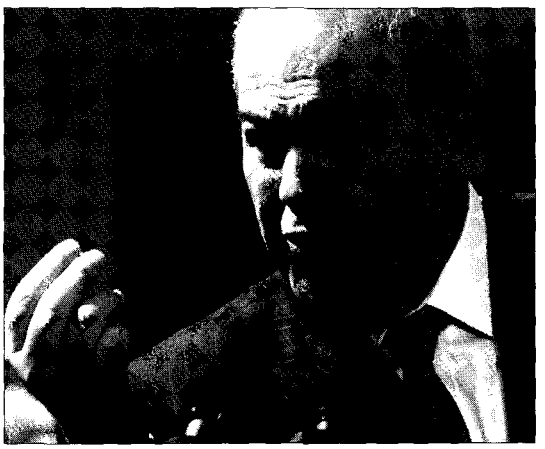
fiasco. The top U.S. commanders in Iraq, Generals Abizaid and Sanchez, hadn't known the Marines were creating the brigade of former Baathists, and neither had Bremer.

Fallujah is one of Prime Minister Allawi's major challenges to this day. But Allawi himself is a bright spot in the U.S. experience in Iraq. The fact that he was an exile demonstrates that one of the arguments wielded against the Pentagon—"Exiles can never govern Iraq"—was false. A lot of the dispute, of course, had to do with one exile in particular, Chalabi. "The folks that were deemed to be acceptable leaders by the Department of Defense were not deemed to be acceptable by the State Department, and when those folks were brought in [to Iraq] in the middle of April [2003], we found out that they did not have the kind of support that might have been anticipated," says a senior administration official.

Chalabi probably wasn't the man to run Iraq, and if the Pentagon didn't insist on anointing him—as officials now maintain—he was certainly high on their list. He didn't have political support on the ground. "He had no street credibility," says a former CPA official. "If you ask people about him, you would hear one of three things, or maybe all three: 1) He's a crook; 2) he's not one of us; 3) he's a stooge of the U.S." In any case, he lost all support from the U.S. government when he was quoted in the *Daily Telegraph* saying any erroneous information that members of his group might have given the U.S. about WMD prior to the war was fine, that they were "heroes in error."



Allawi is a bright spot in the U.S. experience in Iraq.

Ideally, State and Defense could have compromised around an initial Iraqi government headed by someone other than Chalabi. But the compromise forged by the National Security Council produced Garner, and then Bremer, who ended up running Iraq. Again, that wasn't necessarily Bremer's fault. He couldn't give more authority to the Iraqi Governing Council that was formed after the war because its leadership proved so dysfunctional. It wasn't until the process that selected Allawi to head the interim government that some legitimate and responsible Iraqi politics began to take hold. CPA officials felt it wouldn't have been responsible to hand over the country to someone right after the war, because Iraqis weren't ready. But the alternative—the occupation—was no bargain.

'A MIASMA'

That captures the way the U.S. experience in Iraq has been, in part, a tragedy—a series of choices that could never be entirely right. The initial invasion proved brilliant, confounding the critics who predicted months of heavy fighting and thousands of casualties? Well, at least some of the American lives it saved upfront may have been lost later on, confronting the Baathists who got away. Disbanding the army alienated the Sunnis? Well, keeping it would have likely alienated the Shias, who could have mounted a revolt that would have chased the U.S. from the country. Every decision had its tradeoffs.

But that is not to say that things couldn't have been handled better. Intelligence will never be perfect, and making that the standard is a formula for inaction. But the doctrine of preemption is folly without a first-rate covert service and a CIA that is better and more aggressive than it is today. The U.S. military has to take a more lively interest in post-combat stability operations, if the problems of the first year and a half in Iraq are to be avoided elsewhere. And the U.S. government must cohere in a way Bush's National Security Council has often failed to make it cohere in Iraq. "It has been a mess out of which no coherent policy has been made," says a distressed official. "It has been a miasma that no one has been in charge of. You can either say that the president wasn't in control, or you can say that the number-two person wasn't in control, and that's Condi."

For all that, the administration still hasn't lost Iraq, and, if it stays the course, it may well prevail. That it has not lost is testament to the skill and courage of the American soldier and to the Iraqis' desire—despite everything—to create something better. In this way, President Bush's vision for the country has been vindicated. Prime Minister Allawi has exercised responsible leadership, not only abiding, but working closely with the Americans. "The most powerful force getting us closer to a policy has been Allawi," says a U.S. official. The major religious figure in the country, Ayatollah Sistani, has been determined in favor of a democratic Iraq, and the performance of properly trained Iraqi forces, in places like Najaf and Samarra, has provided encouraging signs that they may yet be ready to step up to the plate.

There is no taking away the accomplishment of toppling Saddam Hussein. The Bush administration has been resolute in the face of all the difficulties, including, yes, its own missteps. If Iraq yet proves a success—creating a decent government in that strategically central country—the mistakes of the war's aftermath will be seen as speed bumps, inevitable mistakes and readjustments inherent in any grand enterprise.

Bush's critics, meanwhile, have had the luxury of irresponsibility that comes with being out of office, and have taken full advantage of it. They have indulged paranoid fantasies about the administration's "neocons," failed to offer constructive criticism, waged demagogic attacks based on Halliburton and all manner of other nonsense, fudged their answer to the all-important question of whether they would have invaded, and pounced on every hint of realistic analysis out of the administration (e.g., Rumsfeld's recent obvious statement that the Iraqi elections might not be perfect). Nothing in their performance during the Iraq episode marks them as deserving of power.

That Bush is the best thing going on national security makes it all the more imperative that he get better. "Every indication I have is that Bush is extremely unhappy with how this has gone for obvious reasons," says one official. "I think there is going to be vigorous retooling in a second term." He should get at it as soon as possible, assuming he has the opportunity. There's a war to be won, after all. **NR**

MICHAEL KLEINFELD/UPI

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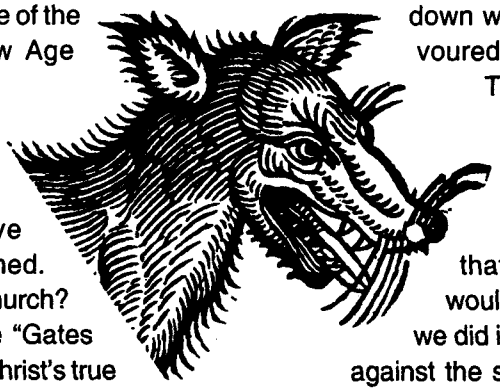
The Wolf Inside The Catholic Church

If Catholics want to see what the Catholic Church would look like if liberal Catholics get their way, all they need do is look at the Episcopal Church, which incarnates the wish list of liberal Catholics: approval of shacking-up, abortion, and homosexual unions; priestesses and out-of-the-closet homosexual priests; junking the doctrine of the Indissolubility of Marriage; New Age (neo-pagan) rituals; etc.



If in, say, 1970 you asked if all of this could happen in the staid Episcopal Church, almost every Episcopalian would have said, "Never!" Alas, it's happened. Could it happen in the Catholic Church? We Catholics have faith that the "Gates of Hell" will never prevail against Christ's true Church, but they could prevail in, say, the U.S. and Europe, just as they prevailed in North Africa.

Sadly, the same type of liberal Christians who run the Episcopal Church can be found in the Catholic Church in the U.S. The "middle management" of the U.S. Church is riddled with dissenters.

How should loyal Catholics relate to such people? Should we seek common ground with them? Dialogue with them? In the Episcopal Church over the past decades there were many fine Christians who took this falsely charitable approach. They said, let's talk with these earnest, if somewhat loosey-goosey Episcopalians. And, you know, pretty soon those fine, kind-hearted Christians weakened under the pressure of the *Zeitgeist*. And then they were devoured.

There's a huge lesson for Catholics to learn here: You just can't pow-wow with liberal Catholics, because they come to any negotiating table from a position of massive strength. They don't just represent themselves. They're of the same ilk that overran the Episcopal Church and numerous other Protestant denominations. And they have the full force of secular Western culture — the *Zeitgeist* — behind them. In this world, when the lambs lie down with the wolves, the lambs are devoured.

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■ FOREIGN POLICY

The Gauls, de Gaulle, the Gall

The story told of Franco-American friendship is a nice story. But it's just a story.

JOHN J. MILLER &
MARK MOLESKY

In the first presidential debate, John Kerry repeated an old story. During the Cuban missile crisis, he said, President Kennedy dispatched his secretary of state to France, where his envoy met Charles de Gaulle and offered to show him satellite photos of Soviet missile sites. But the French president wasn't interested in looking at the images. "The word of the president of the United States is good enough for me," said de Gaulle. Then Kerry delivered his punch line: "How many leaders in the world today would respond to us, as a result of what we've done, in that way?"

It was a curious anecdote. For one thing, JFK didn't send his own secretary of state, but Truman's (Dean Acheson). More significantly, de Gaulle wasn't well known for his smooth relations with American presidents—and none of the presidents who had dealings with the French leader trusted him, either. "He is a very dangerous threat to us," FDR wrote to Churchill in 1943. "He has proven to be unreliable, uncooperative, and disloyal to both our governments." Dwight Eisenhower considered him a major irritant, and Lyndon Johnson clashed with him constantly over everything from France's role in NATO (which de Gaulle quit) to U.S. involvement in Vietnam (which de Gaulle condemned). Perhaps Harry Truman captured the American point of view best when he simply referred to de Gaulle as an "SOB." (And despite Kerry's yarn, Acheson said publicly that de Gaulle was not "a dependable or effective ally.")

The notion that the United States has ruptured relations with its allies in general—and with France in particular—is an unrelenting theme in Kerry's campaign rhetoric. "There was a time, not so long ago, when the might of our alliances was a driving force in the survival and success of freedom," said Kerry in May. And then a cowboy president came along and ruined everything. On this line of attack, the Democratic nominee has done no flip-flopping. He has been a model of consistency. But he has also been consistently wrong.

Mr. Miller is NR's national political reporter, and Mr. Molesky is an assistant professor of history at Seton Hall University. Their new book, *Our Oldest Enemy: A History of America's Disastrous Relationship with France*, has just been published.

A NICE STORY

Kerry's critique of America's place in the world relies heavily on one of the most pernicious myths about U.S. history: that France is our oldest and staunchest ally, a true friend since the days of the American Revolution. Yet nothing could be further from the truth. France is, in fact, America's oldest enemy.

There is a storybook version of Franco-American relations. It begins with the valor of Lafayette and French naval support at Yorktown, continues through the Louisiana Purchase (usually interpreted as a benign real-estate transaction), and makes sure to mention the Statue of Liberty. Then it describes American doughboys fighting in the trenches beside their French comrades during the First World War and, a generation afterward, GIs storming the beaches of Normandy to liberate freedom-loving France from the Nazis. Later, during the Cold War, it has France standing with us shoulder to shoulder as we confront the Soviet threat. Isn't that our history?

Au contraire. The *true* story of Franco-American relations begins many years before the American Revolution, during the French and Indian Wars. Lasting nearly a century, those conflicts pitted the French and their Indian allies against American colonists and British troops. French officers used massacres as weapons of terror against the hardy men, women, and children who settled on the frontier. "For Englanders and New Yorkers," wrote Crane Brinton, the great 20th-century Harvard historian, "the existence of a French menace on the northern borders was for years a very real thing, more real than any acute danger from a foreign power was to seem to Americans until the Russians acquired their own atomic bomb." Amid this tumult, the first articulations of a recognizably *American* national consciousness developed. America's sense of itself was born not in a revolt against England but in a struggle with France.

Although Paris provided American rebels with crucial assistance during their bid for independence, direct French military intervention came only after the Americans had achieved a decisive triumph at Saratoga—a victory that practically guaranteed home rule, if not more. The French crown, of course, regarded the ideals of the Declaration of Independence as abhorrent and frightening. King Louis XVI even put a picture of Benjamin Franklin in his chamber pot. French aristocrats viewed Lafayette's idealism with contempt and branded him a criminal for traveling to America against the king's explicit command. Louis and his government overcame their revulsion toward the young republic only because they sniffed an opportunity to weaken Britain, their ancient rival.

To be sure, France did become an ally for a few years in the late 1770s and early 1780s, but that was because American sovereignty served French geopolitical aims. Even so, it was a tense relationship, one compromised by French blunders and even betrayal. In 1779, when John Paul Jones was battling H.M.S. *Serapis*—during which engagement he shouted the immortal words, "I have not yet begun to fight"—a French warship actually fired broadsides into the *Bonhomme Richard*. The French captain seems to have wanted to claim Jones's victory for himself.

This was hardly the only instance of French treachery. After Yorktown, during the peace talks, France sought to limit American gains because it feared the new nation might become too powerful. If the French had achieved all of their objectives at the Treaty of Paris in 1783, the United States today might be con-

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fined to a slender band of territory along the eastern seaboard, like a North American version of Chile.

In 1998, French defense minister Alain Richard declared that "France and the United States never fought each other." This is manifestly untrue. Within a generation of Yorktown, French and American forces were exchanging deadly fire during the little-known Quasi War of 1798-1800—during which France became the first military enemy of the United States following the ratification of the Constitution. Shortly before these hostilities, France even supplied the United States with its first foreign subversive: French ambassador Edmond Charles Genet, better known as "Citizen Genet." In 1796, a Genet successor, Pierre Adet, meddled in the presidential election in a failed attempt to prevent John Adams from becoming commander-in-chief. It was the first time a foreign power tried to influence the outcome of an American election.

During the Napoleonic era, French ambitions endangered the United States and its westward expansion. Napoleon himself longed to invade North America with a powerful army. He agreed to sell the Louisiana territory only after suffering military disaster in Europe and the Caribbean and hearing threats of war from Thomas Jefferson. (Far from being a worshipful admirer of all things French, Jefferson despised Napoleon, whom he variously called "a great scoundrel," "a moral monster," and "the ruthless destroyer of ten millions of the human race.") The War of 1812 was nearly fought against France rather than Britain, and the Monroe Doctrine was written with France clearly in mind. In the 1830s, Andrew Jackson came close to declaring war on France for its persistent refusal to make good on promised reparations for French naval crimes during Napoleon's reign.

When French politicians want to generate feelings of goodwill among Americans, they almost always appeal to the memories of Lafayette and Yorktown. They neglect to mention their role in the Civil War, when Napoleon's imperial nephew supported the South and incited disunion, carried out the first major transgression of the Monroe Doctrine, and engaged in behavior that Gen. Ulysses S. Grant called "a direct act of war against the United States."

THE FRENCH AND THE WEATHER

In the 20th century, France welcomed American help to end the First World War. During the subsequent peace negotiations, however, the French fought the United States over how to treat the vanquished Germans. By rejecting the advice of Woodrow Wilson and insisting on crippling and humiliating reparations, France fatally undermined the fledgling German democracy and planted many of the seeds of the Second World War—a conflict in which the French required another American rescue. Before that liberation could occur, however, American troops landing in North Africa in 1942 encountered stiff resistance from the soldiers of Vichy France. The Greatest Generation literally had to fight its way through the French to get to the Nazis. "Next to the weather," said General Eisenhower, "[the French] have caused me more trouble in this war than any single factor."

CONFRONTING IRAQ

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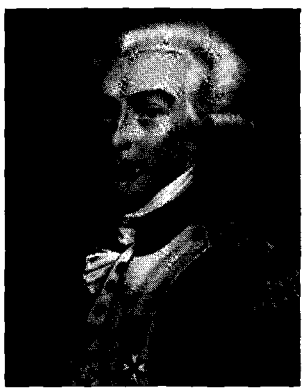
More than 60,000 Americans who gave their lives in these two wars lie buried in French soil. Yet it was not long after the Second World War that many in France forgot this sacrifice. Anti-Americanism metastasized as a whole generation of French intellectuals embraced the West's totalitarian enemy, the Soviet Union. During the Cold War, French misrule in its Southeast Asian colonies made Ho Chi Minh's Communist movement possible and set the stage for an American debacle. If the French had followed the advice of Franklin Roosevelt and granted Vietnam its independence after 1945, the Vietnam War might not have been necessary and today that troubled country might be a prospering democracy like South Korea.

During de Gaulle's presidency—and despite Kerry's storytelling—France became a source of strife within the Western alliance as it undermined NATO, downplayed the Soviet menace, and even refused to rule out aiming its own nuclear missiles at the United States. In 1986, when the United States obtained positive proof that Libyan strongman Muammar Qaddafi was behind a fatal terrorist bombing in Berlin, the French refused Ronald Reagan's request to let U.S. warplanes fly through their airspace to retaliate against him.

At times, Americans have reacted with passionate indignation at French hostility and intransigence. In the 1790s, during the infamous XYZ Affair, the public was outraged when French officials demanded huge bribes from American diplomats. In the 1960s, de Gaulle's anti-American harangues and his dramatic decision to pull French troops from NATO resulted in boycotts of French products across the United States. Yet the myth of Franco-American friendship remains so tenacious that when each new generation of Americans encounters French enmity, it reacts with shock and disbelief.



Lafayette (atypical)

The French see things differently. Their leaders condemn the United States as a "hyperpower" whose influence on the world stage must be balanced—"balanced" being a euphemism for "opposed." According to polls, a quarter of the French public actually hoped Saddam Hussein would defeat the U.S.-led coalition last year. "We are at war with America," declared François Mitterrand, shortly before his death in 1996. "A permanent war . . . a war without death. They are very hard, the Americans—they are voracious. They want undivided power over the world."

Indeed, anti-Americanism has deep roots in France, especially among its political and intellectual elites. Fueled by an abiding belief in French superiority, this attitude at times has assumed odd shapes: As a diplomat in Paris in the 1780s, Thomas Jefferson toiled to disabuse French thinkers of their strange insistence that North American animals were smaller and weaker than those native to Europe. More often, however, the French have sought to contrast their Old World refinements with what they have regarded as New World vulgarities. As French prime minister Georges Clemenceau put it, "America is the only nation in history which miraculously has gone directly from barbarism to degeneration without the usual interval of civilization."

BETTMANN/CORBIS

'DELUSION' IS A FRENCH WORD

Yet the French have been victims of their own illusion: a mirage of grandeur and entitlement based on the belief that because France was once a powerful nation, it should always be a powerful nation. This has produced a national character dominated by nostalgia for a glorious past that simply cannot be recovered. French national decline began in the middle of the 18th century and has since progressed almost without interruption. The single exception came during the reign of Napoleon, when the French made an audacious and bloody bid for European dominance. Their failure has haunted them ever since. Time and again in the last two centuries, France has refused to come to grips with its diminished status as a country whose greatest general was a foreigner, whose greatest warrior was a teenage girl, and whose last great military victory came on the plains of Wagram in 1809. Instead, it projects a politics of chauvinism and resentment—with much of its animus aimed at the United States, a nation whose rise to prominence in global affairs presents almost a mirror image of French erosion.

Throughout the recent unpleasantness over Iraq, the French have continued the increasingly ludicrous charade that they are in reality America's best friend—"its ally forever," as President Jacques Chirac said in the wake of September 11. But true allies of the United States do not behave the way France has. Despite the British public's misgivings about the wisdom of invading Iraq, Prime Minister Tony Blair acted with a solid appreciation of America's positive role in the world and a firm understanding of common values and mutual interests. Where Britain has transformed itself from an old enemy into a true ally, France has failed to do the same. Perhaps this is simply a reflection of French political experience. Historically dominated by the extreme Right and the extreme Left, France simply has not developed a sufficiently deep foundation in liberal democracy that would lead it to believe, along with the United States and Britain, that a successful foreign policy can be based on shared ideals. The hypernationalist French continue to jockey for global supremacy much as they did 300 years ago. And while it is no sin for a government to pursue a foreign policy of national interest—all nations owe this to their citizens—the French have failed to realize that the United States does not now pose, and never has posed, a threat to their country.

John Kerry may claim that he will improve relations with France, but the main problem has more to do with French attitudes about America than with President Bush's diplomacy. Deep down, Kerry seems to understand this fundamental fact. A year ago, at a Democratic presidential debate in Iowa, moderator Tom Brokaw asked a question of Kerry: "What about the French? Are they friends? Are they enemies? Or something in between at this point?"

"The French are the French," Kerry responded, in a line that drew knowing laughter from the audience. "Very profound, Senator," said Brokaw to more chuckles. "Well, trust me," explained Kerry, "it has a meaning and I think most people know exactly what I mean."

Following the imbroglio over Iraq, perhaps most Americans really do understand, at long last. In the words of the French novelist and critic Alphonse Karr, *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. The more things change, the more they stay the same. **NR**

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the long view

ROB LONG

DOCUMENT EXTRACT

National Security Agency Telephone Record

11.05.04

Begin Extract:

[Dialing. Static. Click.]

PRESIDENT-ELECT JOHN KERRY: "Jacques?"

UNIDENTIFIED MALE VOICE: "Oui?"

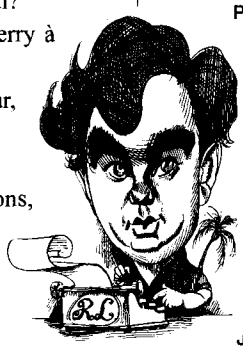
P-EJK: "Jacques, c'est John Kerry à l'appareil."

JACQUES CHIRAC: "Oh! Bonjour, Jean! Ça va?"

P-EJK: "Oui, oui. Très bien!"

JACQUES CHIRAC: "Félicitations, mon vieux . . ."

P-EJK: "Thanks, Jacques. Thanks. Sorry to switch to English, but . . ."



JACQUES CHIRAC: "Is no problem, Monsieur le President-elect. Please. It is very good to hear from you."

P-EJK: "Thanks, Jacques. Anyway, the reason I'm calling is this. As you know, part of my message to the American people during the campign was . . ."

JACQUES CHIRAC: "Congratulations, by the way."

P-EJK: "Thanks, thanks. Anyway, as I was saying, part of my message to the American people during the election was that I'd be able to repair the alliances that my predecessor had damaged. And one of my promises to them was that I could get more countries involved in the effort to rebuild . . ."

JACQUES CHIRAC: "It was, as one says, a real nail-chewer, no?"

P-EJK: "Nail-biter."

JACQUES CHIRAC: "Pardon?"

P-EJK: "The expression is 'nail-biter,' not 'nail-chewer.'"

JACQUES CHIRAC: "Nail-biter. Nail-biter. Okay, then. It was a real nail-biter."

P-EJK: "Yes, well. Okay. Back to what I was saying. One of my promises to the American people was that I could get more countries involved in the effort to rebuild Iraq, which obviously includes sending troops, peacekeeping missions, training exercises, that sort of . . ."

JACQUES CHIRAC: "I am wondering to myself if it was not maybe a question of the first debate?"

P-EJK: "Excuse me?"

JACQUES CHIRAC: "The first debate. You seemed in command. Un vrai président, non? As a student of politics, I ask myself if this was not a crucial moment, yes?"

P-EJK: "You know, Jacques, I'd love to sit down sometime and really hash out the ins-and-outs of the election . . ."

JACQUES CHIRAC: "Maybe at one of the summits?"

P-EJK: "Yes, okay, maybe at one of the summits. But in the meantime, I'd really like to get your commitment to . . ."

JACQUES CHIRAC: "Which summit do you think? Because you have many of them scheduled and my agenda is, as you say there, a real bear. You say that, correct? 'My schedule is a bear'?"

P-EJK: "Yes, we say that. Look, Jacques, I'm counting on you to commit troops to Iraq in some form. If you prefer they be police-training troops, okay, but I really need to know how many and . . ."

JACQUES CHIRAC: "I like this expression. 'My schedule is a bear.' I see it, you know. A big scary bear roaring at my schedule."

P-EJK: "Jacques . . ."

JACQUES CHIRAC: "English has many such wonderful expressions. I am particularly fond of this one: 'What planet are you from?'"

P-EJK: "Jacques . . ."

JACQUES CHIRAC: "And this one: 'You are dreaming!'"

P-EJK: "Jacques . . ."

JACQUES CHIRAC: "And this one: 'Stop calling me, you foolish man. I will give you nothing!'"

P-EJK: "That's not an expression."

JACQUES CHIRAC: "Perhaps it will be, one day."

P-EJK: "Jacques . . ."

[Click. Static.]

[Dialing]

P-EJK: "Hello, Kofi?"

UNIDENTIFIED MALE VOICE: "Yes?"

P-EJK: "Kofi, this is John Kerry."

KOFI ANNAN: "Ah! Hello! And congratulations!"

P-EJK: "Thanks, Mr. Secretary General."

KOFI ANNAN: "No, no, thank *you*. Now, what can I do to help?"

P-EJK: "Well, as you know, in the recent election, I promised the American people that I would be more open and inclusive in my foreign policy and . . ."

KOFI ANNAN: "I know that, sir, and may I say that we all appreciated that."

P-EJK: "Wonderful. Okay. So what I was hoping here is that the U.N. might pass a new resolution declaring its support for the new government in . . ."

KOFI ANNAN: "You know, because we all want to help so very much. Please. Tell me what I can do."

P-EJK: "Well, as I was saying. I'd like the U.N. to pass a resolution in support of the new government in Iraq, and pledging its nation-building services as it transitions into a democratic state."

KOFI ANNAN: "We all want to help as much as we can. So what can we do for you?"

P-EJK: "I just said what. You can pass a resolution and send . . ."

KOFI ANNAN: "Hello? I think I'm losing you."

P-EJK: "Mr. Secretary General?"

KOFI ANNAN: "Hello? Hello? Hello? Hello? Can you hear me?"

P-EJK: "I'm not on a cellphone, Mr. Secretary General."

KOFI ANNAN: "You're not? Then I must be, because I can't hear you at all."

P-EJK: "You're not either, Mr. Secretary General. I called you at your office."

KOFI ANNAN: "Then why can't I hear you?"

P-EJK: "You can hear me now, right?"

KOFI ANNAN: "Yes, now. But not earlier."

P-EJK: "But you can hear me now?"

KOFI ANNAN: "You are crystal clear, Mr. President-elect."

P-EJK: "Okay, then. So what I'd like is U.N. support for nation-building, security, and policing in Iraq. Can I count on your help?"

KOFI ANNAN: "Crystal clear."

P-EJK: "Did you hear me?"

KOFI ANNAN: "Hello?"

[Static]

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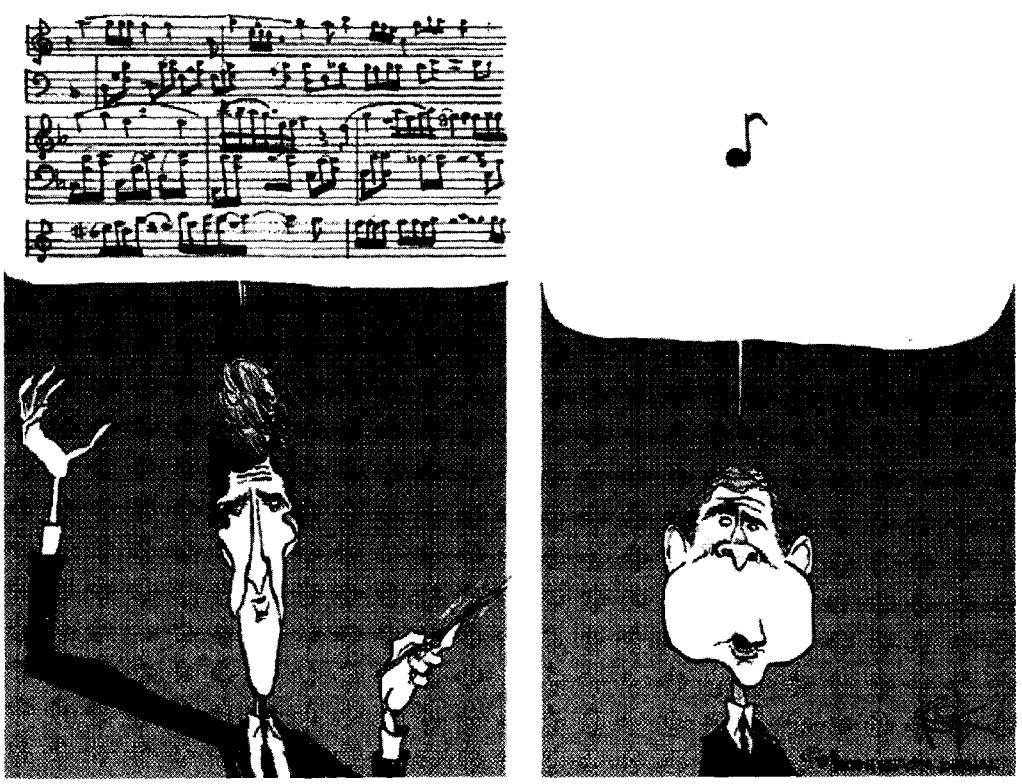
HELP!!!!

WHAT DO YOU CALL ELECTIONS WHERE A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE DO NOT VOTE?
THE AMERICAN WAY...
IRAQ ELECTION CREDIBILITY DEBATED
U.S. ELECTION



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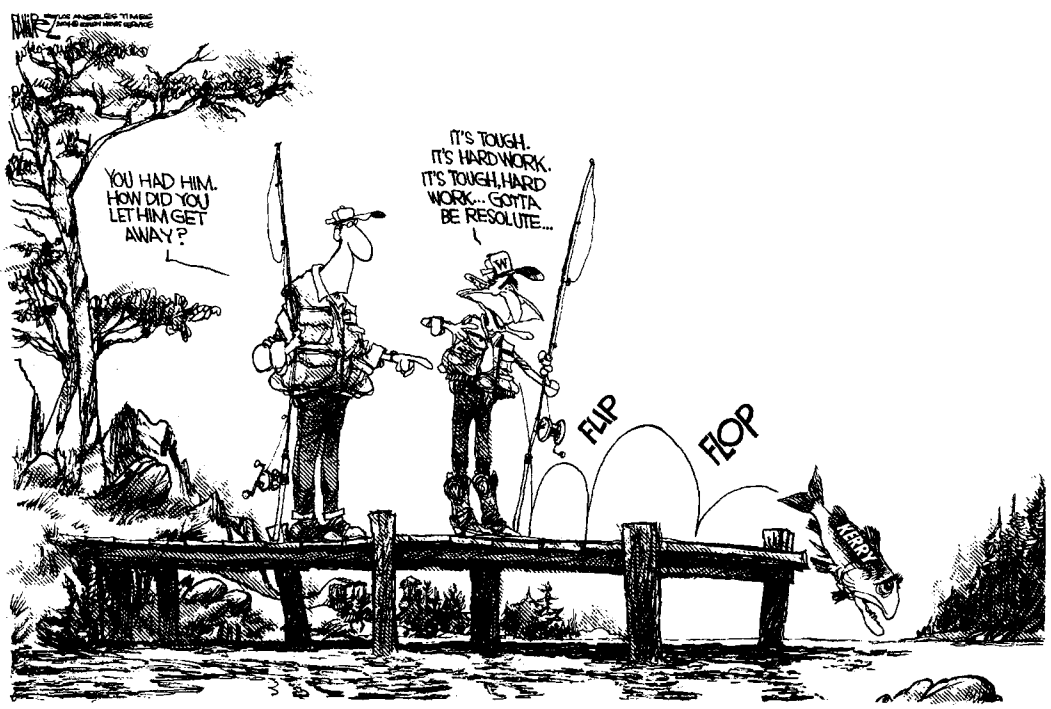
Appointment in Samarra

Where Sunnis strut and Baathists burn
To see, tout de suite, *Saddam's return,*
The coalition and Iraq
Push in, producing awe and shock,
As (drat!) the loony Left reacts
Like kids caught in indecent acts:
Now, Holy Moses, Sadr says
He's running candidates. Oyez!

—W. H. von Dreele

TANNING
KERRY TANNED HERE
DOESN'T HAVE THE SAME RING AS 'WASHINGTON SLEPT HERE,' DOES IT?
STAYSKAL
TRIBUNE MEDIA SERVICE 1904

"You're a solipsist? Nonsense, man—it's all in your mind!"



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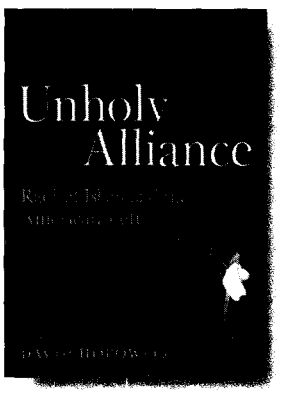
All Spelled Out



Unholy Alliance: Radical Islam and the American Left, by David Horowitz
(Regnery, 256 pp., $27.95)

JAY NORDLINGER

POLITICALLY speaking, it's probably the most explosive suggestion you can make today: that the Left has joined hands with radical Islam. That it is fellow-traveling with it. Such a suggestion will get you branded a McCarthyite, immediately. But is it true (the suggestion, that is)? Afraid so. And this case is powerfully, sickeningly made in David Horowitz's new book.

At first blush, it may seem an odd alliance: the leftists and the Islamists. After all, Islamists are premodern "conservatives." Reflecting on a big anti-war rally in London, Mark Steyn pointed out that militant lesbians were marching alongside militant Muslims. Did the former care that the latter would have them dead? Not really.

What unites the Left and Islamism, above all, is a deep-seated hatred of the United States (and, secondarily, Israel). Also, an absolutist, totalist view of the world. Those are enough.

The anti-war movement has burgeoned greatly since early post-9/11 days. It's prevalent in academia, of course, and in the press, and in Hollywood. Some foresaw this. In February 2002, Norman Podhoretz—the veteran intellectual—gave a major speech in Washington. He spoke of the "new patriotic mood" that had emerged after the terrorist attacks. But from the beginning, he "could not fully share the heady confidence of some of my political friends that this was a permanent and not an ephemeral change."

He recalled the Vietnam period, in which "elite opinion trumped popular opinion." Would such opinion work its will again? It would depend, said Podhoretz, on the progress of the war. "Of one thing we can be sure: As the war widens, opposition will widen along with it." And conservatives, among others, should "mobilize" to "fight off . . . appeasement and defeatism."

After Podhoretz's speech, some conservatives rolled their eyes. He seemed to be stuck in the past, fighting the last war, not realizing that 9/11 had "changed everything." One critique in particular had an air of, "Thanks for your service, Grandpa, but you're just out of touch." Well, the last two and a half years have shown that Grandpa was spot-on.

Opposition to the War on Terror shades with alarming ease into apologetics for Islamism. In June 2003, NATIONAL REVIEW published a signal essay by David Pryce-Jones, "The New Fellow-Traveling." He wrote that, while there are differences between Islamist fellow-traveling and the old Soviet kind, "the cast of mind is the same."

> The common premise that Western society is responsible for the world's ills generates . . . guilt for the present as well as fear for what is to come. The conviction then develops that whatever "we" do must be wrong, and whatever "they" do is justified. Fellow-travelers in both cases come to apologize for those hostile to Western society, even to identify with them.

I suggest the following: One moment you're calling terrorists "insurgents" or "rebels"; a moment later, you may be rationalizing their actions, and if you're really far gone, thrilling to them.

More recently, Pryce-Jones delivered a paper—at Boston University—in which he listed a string of Western accommodations to Islamism. He then said, "To point out these things is to attract the accusation of Islamophobia as surely as realism about Communism was once McCarthyite." Ah, but today we are both Islamophobic and McCarthyite!

In sad truth, many liberals are simply repulsed at the idea that America can accomplish some good in the world, particularly with military force. This is why they're unable to take pleasure in the toppling of obscene dictatorships, even theocratic ones. An odd mixture of self-blame and misdirected sympathy kicks in. Thus a Democratic senator, Patty Murray of Washington, can ask, "Why is [Osama bin Laden] so popular around the world?" and answer, "He's been out in these countries for decades, building schools, building roads, building infrastructure, building daycare facilities [!], building health-care facilities—and the people are extremely grateful. We haven't done that."

The senator was wrong about bin Laden's largesse, and wrong about America's. Take merely Afghanistan: The United States was the largest donor to it even during the Taliban period. It contributed more to it than the rest of the world combined.

Last summer, I attended a conference, which featured another prominent liberal Democratic politician. During a panel discussion, someone mentioned the good that could flow from America's liberation of Iraq, including greater opportunities for women. Our politician was aghast at the suggestion, and moved quickly to put it down. Women, she declared, had enjoyed full rights under Saddam Hussein, but now those rights were in question, thanks to this new, U.S.-imposed regime. Members of the audience burst into applause—almost a desperate, inordinately grateful applause. No good could come from a George W. Bush-led effort.

Excuse-making is widespread. You may have seen Ron Silver at the Republican convention. (He is the liberal actor who is supporting Bush, because of the War on Terror.) Referring to 9/11, he cried, "Never excuse!" He did not elaborate, but everyone knew what he meant.

David Horowitz certainly knows. An ex-radical himself—like Norman Podhoretz, as a matter of fact—he knows the mind of the Left, and he knows its web of groups. He is at pains to state, at the begin-

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—Baltimore Sun

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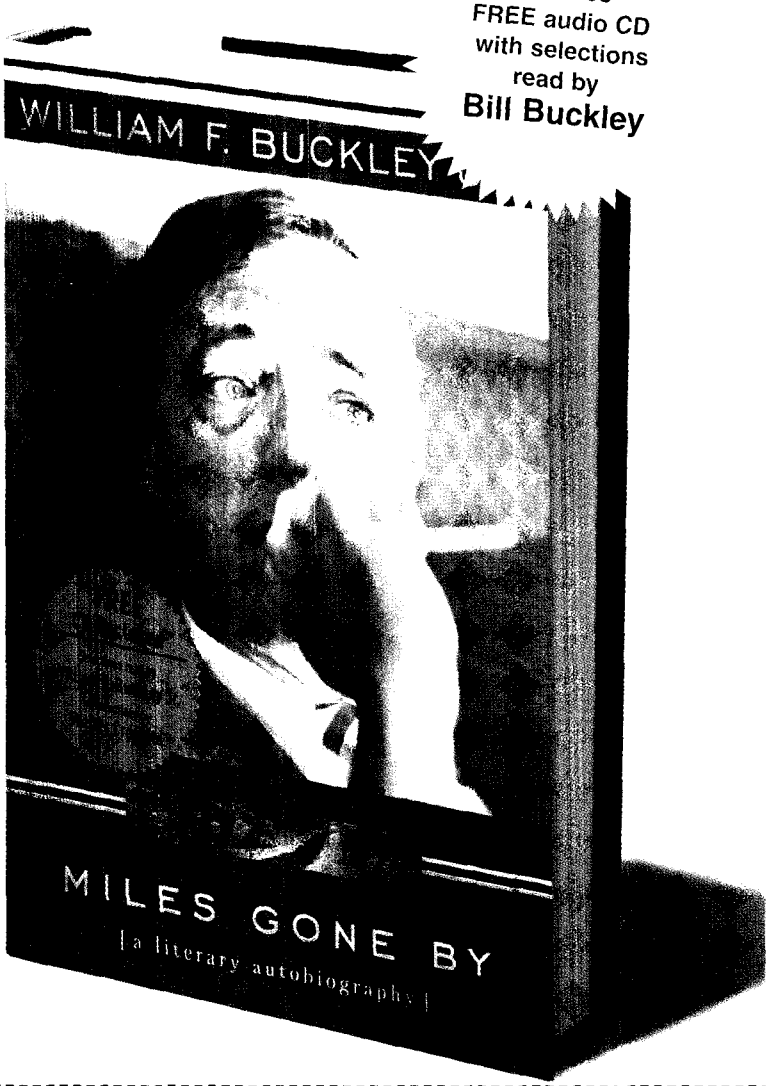

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ning of his book, that he is not critiquing honest critics of the war: but rather "the leaders of the organized anti-war movement," who give "practical support" to "America's enemies and their agendas." A tough statement, but amply backed.

In this taut, well-paced book, Horowitz traces the arc of the Left, from World War II, through Vietnam, to now. He notes that a pivotal event took place only a few days before 9/11: the U.N.'s Durban conference. This saw the international Left feeling its oats, condemning the United States and Israel in the most brazen terms—as Nazi-style states, really. Before that, the broad, disparate Left had come together in such places as Seattle, to protest globalization. And they meet annually—usually in Brazil— for the World Social Forum.

The Ford Foundation funds this gathering; it funded parts of the Durban rabble; it will fund about anything, nefarious.

Here at home, the anti-war movement got going well before U.S. forces entered Afghanistan. "By the radicals' own count," writes Horowitz, "there were 247 'anti-war' demonstrations in the United States and in countries overseas between September 11 and September 30, before a shot was fired in response to" the terrorist attacks. This was augmented by "150 'peace vigils' and 'teach-ins.'" The talk was of "root causes" and of America's hopeless "racism"—race having replaced class as the Left's fixation. Students and professors chanted, "One, two, three, four, we don't want your racist war."

At the conclusion of a key paragraph, Horowitz writes that the "decision to oppose the war in Afghanistan was a defining moment for the American Left, analogous to its response to the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939."

We read about a host of influential leftists, chief among them Noam Chomsky and Howard Zinn. Conservatives, as a rule, ignore these men, or dismiss their importance, which is a mistake. (They once did this with Michael Moore, but no longer.) Chomsky is read, imbibed, followed, by countless people, many of them young. Zinn is merely the author of the top-selling, most widely assigned U.S.-history textbook. Who's to say these men aren't mainstream? They have more readers and admirers than David Horowitz—or I—ever will.

At first, outright Communists took the lead in the anti-war movement. Though the media greatly sanitized their rallies, Horowitz has the goods (always). But then the radicals got smarter. Out went the Palestinian flags and in came the American flags, by the thousands. Groups like International ANSWER and Not in Our Name gave way to Keep America Safe and United for Peace and Justice. Some factions are pro-bin Laden and pro-Saddam; some factions are merely anti-war; sometimes it's hard to tell. All are pleased to embrace the name "progressive community."

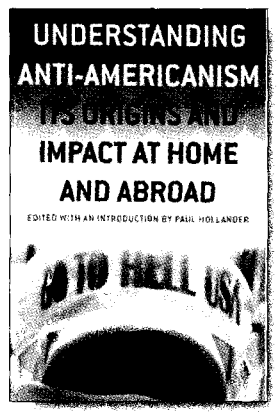
Radicals have accommodated "moderates," "moderates" have accommodated radicals. Again, that question of mainstream is confused. Michael Moore's movie has grossed how many millions? At the Democratic convention, Jimmy Carter invited him to sit in his box. Later, the ex-president declared *Fahrenheit 9/11* his favorite movie, along with *Casablanca*.

As we know, the experience of McCarthyism has sunk deep into Americans. Even now—almost 50 years after the tailgunner's death—it's hard to say that someone is on the "other side," even when he is screaming in your face that he is on the other side. What more does Harold Pinter, for example, have to do to convince you that he hopes you lose? And the language of the Islamists and that of the leftists can be indistinguishable.

Horowitz quotes a Hamas statement issued on September 11, an "Open Letter to America." (Sample: "Have you asked yourself about your actions against your original inhabitants, the Indians, the Apaches? Your white feet crushed them and then used their name for a helicopter bearing death . . .") Put it in any college syllabus, or the *New York Times*, and no one would blink.

The author of this book is known as a hothead, a "flamethrower"; indeed, when Horowitz plays at his keyboard, fireworks can result. But this is a coolly argued book. It is eloquent, unrelenting—devastating. It records what has occurred thus far, and explains why it has occurred. Horowitz may be as valuable to us today as his ex-radical forebears—many of them associated with this magazine—were in their own day. Horowitz utterly understands the War on Terror and its opponents, in all their flavors. *Unholy Alliance* is, in fact, a weapon in this war. **NR**

Fear and Loathing



Understanding Anti-Americanism: Its Origins and Impact at Home and Abroad, edited by Paul Hollander (Ivan R. Dee, 372 pp., $28.95)

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

HATING America is not new, nor does it have much to do with the unpopularity of George W. Bush. Primordial emotions such as envy, resentment, and self-loathing explain why the world's elites damn Americans for who they are and what they represent rather than what they actually do. (Criticism of American policies and culture is fair game, of course, but hysterical venom is not.) Left unsaid is why millions flock to our shores, and still more emulate our society—if it is as abjectly awful as the haters attest.

Paul Hollander has spent much of his distinguished career pondering these questions and has now brought together a distinguished team of investigators to attempt a systematic study. What the 18 assembled authors conclude is both fascinating and depressing. Most of the social problems of 20th-century modernity itself—from urban crime and the destruction of traditional landscapes to the shedding of tradition and the laxity of morals—are attributed to the radically

Mr. Hanson is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

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democratic and popular culture of the United States.

Indeed, it is almost as if people hate what they have become, aping American slang and informality and then decrying the erosion of global etiquette. Scapegoating America allows one in the concrete to enjoy jeans, birth-control pills, antibiotics, and video games, even while damning in the abstract the purveyor of both junk and life-saving appurtenances.

Hollander's team also cites more recent developments that have accentuated the traditional and deductive dislike of the U.S. The fall of the USSR meant that one superpower was now responsible for all the major crises in the world, and could not be balanced by playing it off against another. If American-style capitalism was bad, few once saw the alternative of a murderous Soviet Marxism as any better. But with the Bolsheviks' fall from power, there arose the romance of a sort of earlier and purer unfulfilled Trotskyism—or at least the easy fantasy of thinking "something" must be better than the U.S., without experiencing what that something actually was and did.

The American military buildup of the 1980s came to fruition at precisely the time the USSR collapsed, leaving the U.S. strong as never before and without a serious rival—allowing it alone to determine when, how, and where to use its usually unrivaled armed forces. Everyone dislikes an overdog—especially when doing so carries little cost, in a world without major Soviet-sponsored enemies on the border.

Globalization is a force multiplier of the disease. It has allowed local gripes to be shared instantaneously worldwide on the Internet and TV, even as multinational corporations have developed the ability to impose McDonald's, Chicago Bulls jerseys, and Britney Spears into village life in Pakistan—and amid the coffeehouses of Paris.

While Bush—his accent, undisguised Christianity, embrace of southern NASCAR culture in lieu of Harvard and the *New York Times*, and willingness to use force unilaterally—may have acerbated anguish against the U.S., the real recent catalyst has been Islamic fundamentalism. Indeed, the traditional Middle East feels most keenly the rampant culture of a free-wheeling American presence on its televisions, billboards, video games, and movie screens.

While the rest of the world prospered under globalization and occasionally nibbled the hand that fed it, hundreds of millions in the Middle East still retain autocratic governments, statist economies, gender apartheid, censorship, state police, and religious fundamentalism and intolerance. Jihad is the alternative to Baathist dictatorship, as cheek-by-jowl dictators and terrorists blame the Jews and the Americans for their own self-induced misery.

All these arguments are offered with a wealth of detail, especially in the context of Europe, where anti-Americanism is seen as the Trojan Horse that has the ability to undermine the unity of the West. Thus James Ceaser traces the philosophical assault on America as the crass soul-destroyer from Nietzsche to Heidegger, quoting Jean-François Revel's famous statement, "If you remove anti-Americanism, nothing remains in French political thought today, either on the left or on the right."

'If you remove anti-Americanism, nothing remains in French political thought today, either on the left or on the right.'

Anthony Daniels pursues that line in a more detailed analysis of the French, reminding us that we need not seek either deep explanations for or concrete examples of their true grievance. It is simpler than all that: A once-glorious culture has been saved by one deemed crass, and now finds its values steamrolled worldwide by its erstwhile liberator. And because America is both relatively self-absorbed and forgiving, the French simply go on hating America without repercussions, explaining why, for example, their complicity in the Rwandan holocaust draws no rebuke while America is blamed both for allowing and for removing Milosevic.

In Britain and Germany the story is slightly different, if also similar in the shared fear of an all-oppressive and dominant American colossus. Both elite

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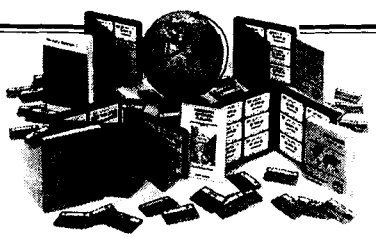

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British leftists and Tories, as Michael Mosbacher and Digby Anderson argue, deride American money-grubbing and hyper-individualism. The socialists think the U.S. is exploitative; the aristocrats find it in bad taste. Together they can focus their theoretical frustrations on us even as they grudgingly accept that their own country, to stay competitive and provide a decent living for its citizens, is becoming far more egalitarian, capitalistic, informal—and thus American—than ever before.

The Germans are again different. Expanding on Ceaser's analysis, Michael Freund sees a once-beaten country experiencing schadenfreude at our own present unpopularity. Whether that opportunism will continue with the withdrawal of American troops, and new responsibilities for a stagnant socialist economy, is another story.

We can see how European theory gets translated into Third World fact in the Middle East. Patrick Clawson and Barry Rubin fault us for not demanding from the Islamic world greater honesty in recognizing our own past support—tilting toward it in the Suez Crisis, freeing Kuwait, and saving Bosnians and Kosovars. Too often we either do not defend American values or allow our own elite critics to pose as grass-roots representatives of the misused entity "the American people"—the mythical good guys here at home who are also victims, hoodwinked by various conspiracies (Jews, corporations, modernists).

In Latin America, as Michael Radu, David C. Brooks, and Mark Falcoff show, we get blamed as the new colonizer, a surrogate Spain. *Yanquis* are caricatured either as gunboat interveners or United Fruit puppeteers—even as well-heeled Spanish-speaking court jesters jet northward to fellowships, professorships, and grants in the U.S. to play on guilt-ridden American elites.

Yet the most fascinating part of Hollander's collection is the analysis of anti-Americanism here at home. Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, Cathy Young, Adam Garfinkle, and Sandra Stotsky all make absorbing observations about the role of decades of Communism, militant feminism, anti-Semitism, and utopian pacifism in creating the current American Left that we see turn up at ANSWER rallies and MoveOn.org meetings.

Bruce Thornton and Roger Kimball offer two brilliant essays. Thornton asks: How do the intellectual and artist, in a sea of affluence and leisure, win status and acclaim from the nose-to-the grindstone, take-out-pizza, nine-to-five citizenry that makes it all possible? Cultural figures such as *New York Times* critic Frank Rich or *American Beauty* director Sam Mendes suggest that a few sensitive and compassionate sorts like themselves carry the thankless (but usually quite lucrative) burden of explaining to Jason and Nicole of the suburbs just how empty and inauthentic their lives really are. Kimball's insights into the detritus of the 1960s are many, but he reminds us that anti-Americanism flourishes because we choose neither to question it nor to defend our values—and thus it will start to disappear precisely when we do.

Paul Hollander has performed a great service with this volume, one that explains Michael Moore's popularity here and abroad far better than any theory that invokes the (ephemeral) hatred of one President Bush. **NR**

Stop, Thief!

Stealing Elections: How Voter Fraud Threatens Our Democracy, by John Fund (Encounter, 173 pp., $16.95)

ROBERT D. ALT

In this important new book, the *Wall Street Journal*'s John Fund offers an ominous vision of future elections. "If you hated Florida in 2000," he warns, "you may not have seen anything yet."

You remember Florida: the ubiquitous "chads"—dimpled, pimpled, pregnant, hanging, and dangling; the butterfly ballots, overseas ballots, overvotes, undervotes, and spoiled votes. And then there were the lawsuits, in both state and federal courts. Fund holds out the very real

Mr. Alt is a fellow at the John M. Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs at Ashland University. A contributor to National Review Online, he wrote the Florida Legal Watch column in 2000.

CORNER TABLE

You tell me you are going to marry him.
You knew almost at once he was the one.
Your hands rested on the quilted tablecloth.
"Such clever hands," I used to say.
I gave them names I never spoke aloud.

You tell me how you met and where you'll live.
It's easier to watch your lips than listen.
Your eyes flash in the candlelight like knives.
The waiters drift by with their phantom meals.
Tonight the dead are dining with the dead.

You twist the wineglass slowly in your hand,
And I speak of other things. What matters most
Most often can't be said. Better to trust
The forms that hold our grief. We understand
This last mute touch that lingers is farewell.

—DANA GIOIA

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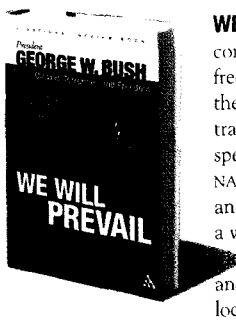

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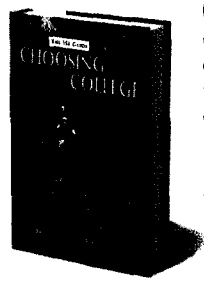

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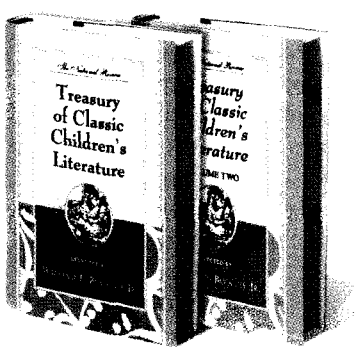

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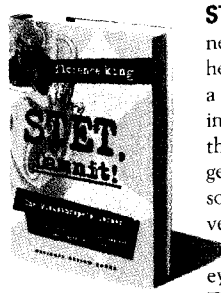

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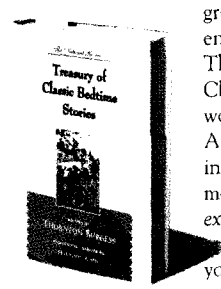

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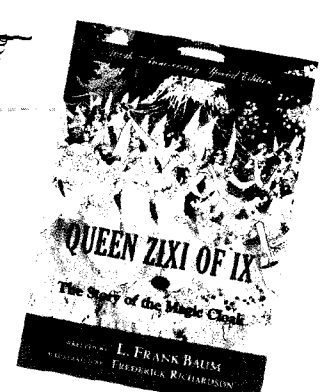

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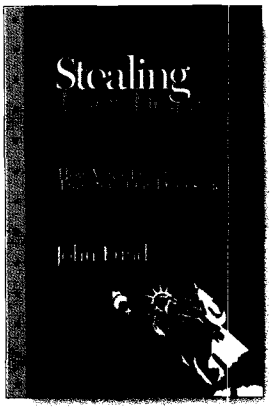
possibility that a future close election—possibly as soon as next month—could set the stage for an explosion in election by litigation, with Florida-style challenges mounted in multiple states.

This potential future is in some measure a product of the not-so-distant past. If the Democratic convention is any indication, the myth that Al Gore won Florida is still a powerful one among Democrats—and one that will inevitably have consequences for how the parties view this election. For example, Vice President Gore, after offering a lame joke about spending nights recounting sheep, admonished the crowd to "make sure that this time every vote is counted." Al Sharpton thundered that Florida was important because the vote is sacred, "soaked in the blood of martyrs." Outside the convention, John Kerry has asserted that 1 million African-American votes were lost in 2000—an allegation for which he has yet to offer any proof. And the Democrats' answer to Leni Riefenstahl, Michael Moore, argues that under every scenario, Gore would have won Florida absent the intervention of the U.S. Supreme Court. Yes, the myth of Gore's Florida victory continues despite the fact that every recount conducted after the election determined that George W. Bush won the Florida vote. And yes, the allegations of systematic and racially based voter disenfranchisement continue despite strong evidence to the contrary—evidence that Fund chronicles in detail.



Firm in the conviction that they have been wronged, and buoyed by the quasi-precedent of the last presidential election, the Democrats, and with them the Republicans, are preparing for battle. I'm fairly sure that one of the unmentioned plagues of the apocalypse is hordes of lawyers, and I say this with the certainty that only a law-school graduate can muster. And so the Democratic National Committee's promise "to deploy 10,000 lawyers across the country" for the election—like Kerry's claim that he is organizing "SWAT teams" of election lawyers—is surely a sign of a coming electoral Armageddon, or at the very least a litigation arms race. The Republicans are mobilizing lawyers in response, and, of course, no good can come from so many opposing lawyers at or near the polls. We do not even need to wait until the elections to see the result of this buildup: Fund reports that liberal legal groups are already suing in states that require photo IDs at the polls, seeking to overturn that requirement on the dubious grounds that the provision discriminates against the poor and minorities.

Nonetheless, Fund's book is less a portent of doom than a diagnosis of the ills that afflict our electoral system—a task he accomplishes by offering vivid examples of the failings of elections past. Fund has done his homework, and offers numerous eyewitness accounts of elections that were decided by fraud and corruption rather than by the will of the voters. He is forthright in stating that neither party has a monopoly on election fraud; but many of the larger, more recent scandals do in fact have their epicenters in the Democratic party.

In the course of these stories, we learn of some of the methods that ultimately facilitate election fraud. Number one on the list must certainly be absentee ballots, which figure in schemes involving dead "voters." There are also schemes in which the unscrupulous forge or direct the votes of the elderly and mentally disabled, and even schemes involving pets registered to vote. While more liberal absentee provisions seem to be popular among Democratic-leaning advocacy groups, Fund argues that another effect of absentee ballots—allowing people to vote before Election Day—may have cost Gore the presidency. Because many absentee voters would have already cast their ballots prior to the eleventh-hour revelation about George W. Bush's DUI, and before Gore's last-minute push in his home state of Tennessee, these major events did not have the desired effect on a significant number of voters.

In his final chapter, Fund reviews a series of election reforms aimed at preventing corruption and litigation, from requiring photo identification to reining in the movement toward same-day voter registration. But reform will not come easy. Regulations aimed at curbing voter fraud—even those as innocuous as requiring an ID—are met with accusations of racial disparity and animus. As Fund illustrates, these same accusations have chilled prosecutors from investigating and prosecuting election crimes perpetrated in minority communities. Ironically, liberal activist groups oppose these regulations in the name of the sanctity of minority voting rights, and yet by doing so, they permit fraudulent votes to dilute genuine minority votes, thereby impairing the very rights they seek to protect.

Among the most important of Fund's recommendations is the modest proposal that states develop clear and consistent rules for identifying what constitutes a vote, as well as timetables and procedures for contesting elections. Most of the election laws were not written with an eye toward the post-*Bush* v. *Gore* world: one in which lawyers will necessarily put more strain on the corners of the laws than the statutes were intended to bear. Election laws that give officials unmitigated discretion to ascertain the intent of the voter, and that are not supported by clear rules concerning how this task will be done, inevitably force election workers to practice nothing short of divination and, as we learned too well in 2000, may lead to protracted litigation. The key is to have a sufficiently clear set of rules before the election so that we don't engage in countless metaphysical legal arguments after the election about how many corners of a chad must be detached before it becomes a vote.

The significance of these issues is not limited to the presidential election. There are many other razor-close races within the several states. Given that many of the problems that created Florida 2000 still exist, we would do well to heed Mr. Fund's warning, and call for reform before we are faced with a nation of Floridas. **NR**

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Environment 9/11

Crimes Against Nature: How George W. Bush and His Corporate Pals Are Plundering the Country and Hijacking Our Democracy, by Robert F. Kennedy Jr. (HarperCollins, 256 pp., $21.95)

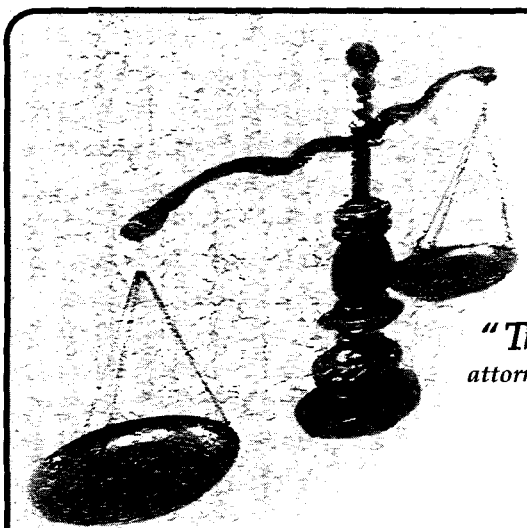
JONATHAN H. ADLER

In December 2003, Robert F. Kennedy Jr. wrote "Crimes Against Nature," an extensive, sharply worded assault in *Rolling Stone* magazine on the Bush administration's environmental record, which Kennedy called "a ferocious three-year attack" on environmental protection. Under President Bush's leadership, Kennedy charged, "corporate cronyism" was "strangling democracy and devouring our national treasures." The article was shocking—shocking, that is, in its inaccuracies and ad hominem attacks. It was astounding that a professional environmental lawyer and sometime environmental-law professor who, by his own account, had his work "rigorously fact-checked," could produce such a vitriolic and error-laden piece.

Mr. Adler teaches environmental law at the Case Western Reserve University School of Law and is a contributing editor to National Review Online.

Eight months later, Kennedy's article has become a book—and his attack has not improved with age. More time and more pages have only produced more errors and exaggerations. Kennedy's thesis remains the same: "Our president is engaged in the radical destruction of 30 years of environmental law." Worse, America under the Bush administration is, in Kennedy's estimation, comparable to Europe at the time of rising fascism in the 1930s.

In building his case against the president, Kennedy repeatedly distorts the facts. He tries, for example, to link increased asthma rates to Bush's air-pollution policies—yet asthma increased while air-pollution levels declined. Some erroneous claims from Kennedy's *Rolling Stone* article have been modified, if not completely corrected. For example, in the article Kennedy charged that the administration "redefine[d] carbon dioxide" to no longer be considered a pollutant subject to regulation under the Clean Air Act—but carbon dioxide has *never* been regulated as an air pollutant under federal law. Now Kennedy charges that carbon dioxide "was not listed as a pollutant in the original Clean Air Act" because of industry lobbying. This too is false, as global warming (the only reason adduced for the need to regulate carbon dioxide) was not even on the environmental radar when the Clean Air Act was enacted in 1970, let alone when the prior federal air-pollution laws were adopted in the 1960s. (Alas, some 60 pages later, Kennedy repeats the mistake from his original article.)



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—Marcus Tullius Cicero
from *De Officiis*

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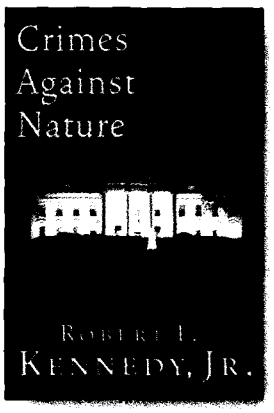
The author insists that readers can find documentation of over 300 Bush "rollbacks" of environmental protection in the work of the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), yet several of his claims are contradicted on NRDC's own website. For instance, Kennedy claims that Bush has "rolled back" federal vehicle fuel-efficiency standards, while the NRDC website notes that the administration actually proposed a "minor increase." Similarly, Kennedy blames the mining industry for arsenic in drinking water, yet the NRDC website notes that much arsenic contamination comes from natural deposits. Other sourcing is sloppy, and some of the most inflammatory charges lack citations at all.

Although Kennedy claims to be a defender of "free-market capitalism," this book provides little evidence that he understands economics. Whatever the merits of minimum-wage laws and social-welfare programs, they're hardly "free market"; neither are federal pollution-control laws. While most economists celebrate improvements in worker productivity, Kennedy laments that coal companies can produce just as much coal with only 12 percent of the workers they required in 1960. Given his concern for worker safety, one would think Kennedy would at least cheer the fact that far fewer laborers are exposed to the risks of coal mining, not to mention the immense economic benefits of the change.

Kennedy repeats the nostrum that "conservation is indeed the fastest way to reduce our dependence on foreign oil" and suggests that an eight-mile-per-gallon increase in fuel efficiency "would eliminate the need for all Persian Gulf imports." This is nonsense: Even dramatic reductions in energy use will do little to reduce the percentage of oil that comes from overseas. America imports oil because overseas supplies are substantially less expensive than oil produced at home. Reduce domestic oil consumption on the margin, which is all Kennedy's proposed policy would do, and the result will be a decline in consumption of domestic oil. Imports will scarcely be affected. Nonetheless, Kennedy claims that the "savings" from such a policy "would help balance our trade deficit and provide a permanent economic stimulus package."



Kennedy spends very little time discussing the details of policy or considering genuine policy disputes. He frets about the potential risks of terrorist attacks on nuclear and chemical plants—exaggerating the risks posed by the former, and voicing no concern about the federal environmental policies that mandate public disclosure of security vulnerabilities at the latter. He condemns Gale Norton as the first Interior secretary since the passage of the Endangered Species Act not to place, "voluntarily," a single species on the endangered list. But he never says what good it would have done endangered species if she had: Since 1973, more species have gone extinct under the act's "protection" than have been recovered. Likewise, there is a reasonable debate to be had on the Bush administration's efforts to provide incentives for landowners to participate in conservation, but Kennedy does not engage it.

Major portions of *Crimes Against Nature* are dedicated to a string of personal attacks on Bush-administration officials who, the author claims, operate for the benefit of their "corporate paymasters." Anyone with ties to the private sector is suspect. Those who disagree with his diagnosis are "charlatans" and "shills" for "polluters." Kennedy doesn't challenge the credentials or conclusions of scientists with whom he disagrees; he merely labels them "crooked," and nothing more than "biostitutes" for hire. Unable to document the substance of his claims, Kennedy is content to impugn the motives of his opponents.

Despite his shrill pitch and sloppy execution, Kennedy occasionally hits his mark. Many of his criticisms of the energy bill now being considered in Congress are on target. The nation would be better off with no energy legislation at all than with this Christmas tree of corporate subsidies and giveaways masquerading as a national energy policy. Yet Kennedy glosses over the fact that many of the worst excesses are the fault of Congress, not the administration. Ethanol subsidies are to be condemned, but they were not invented by President Bush. The corn lobby has plowed fertile ground in Washington for decades with bipartisan assistance. And this fault, of blaming Bush for anything and everything without regard to the facts, is not limited to Kennedy's discussion of energy: He even tries to blame Bush for some of the Clinton administration's environmental missteps.

Kennedy's discussion of broader matters is equally deficient. He butchers the history of the Magna Carta, distorts the origins of American wildlife law, and suggests that the media fail to cover environmental issues owing to repeal of the "fairness doctrine" in the 1980s. (In fact, Kennedy's own NRDC had no trouble pitching the Alar scare to *60 Minutes* after the fairness doctrine's demise, and environmental alarmism is alive and well in the major media.) Most troubling of all is Kennedy's comparison of the Bush administration to the fascist governments of 1930s Italy, Germany, and Spain; he further claims Bush and Cheney have "clearly grasped the lesson" of "Hitler's sidekick," Nazi war criminal Hermann Goering. Kennedy has reached the border between error and outright kookery, and heedlessly crossed it.

Earlier this year, the online environmentalist magazine *Grist* suggested that Kennedy could become the environmental Michael Moore, and *Crimes Against Nature* the green *Fahrenheit 9/11*. Now that Moore's filmmaking has been exposed as dishonest and irresponsible anti-Bush propaganda, it seems *Grist* was right on target. Robert Kennedy's *Crimes Against Nature* would be more accurately titled *Crimes Against Fact*. **NR**

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■ SHELF LIFE ■

A Fall Harvest

MICHAEL POTEMRA

A TRUE highlight of this fall book season is ***Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights*** (Rowman & Littlefield, 372 pp., $27.95), by Allen D. Hertzke. The volume tells a story of world-historical importance: how the concern of American evangelicals for Christians being persecuted abroad has quickly evolved into a much broader movement, one that is already transforming U.S. foreign policy and has the potential to win great advances for human rights worldwide.

The movement has its roots in what Hertzke calls "a Christian demographic revolution": the "tectonic shift of the Christian population toward the 'Global South.'" A century ago, 80 percent of the world's Christians lived in the U.S., Canada, and Europe; today, the figure is 40 percent, and continues to decline. "The most dramatic trend," writes Hertzke, "is among the evangelical and Pentecostal population. Since 1970 the evangelical population has grown 207 percent in Africa, 233 percent in Latin America, and 326 percent in Asia, so that perhaps 70 percent of Protestant evangelicals now live in Asia, Africa, and Latin America." Those Christians in the West who have resisted, to some extent at least, the modernist theological tendencies of the past couple of centuries "identify," Hertzke says, with the embattled Bible Christians of the Third World—and "it is this identification that helps animate the Christian solidarity impulse" in the human-rights movement.

The author describes how this cause has united evangelicals with Catholics, Jews, and feminists in coalitions on specific issues; the evangelicals are entering the mainstream of political activism and helping to transform it. It has been an uphill struggle, Hertzke recounts, against soft bigotries: "In [a] *New York Times* story the Sudan cause was described as a 'pet cause of American religious conservatives.' It is hard to imagine the *Times* describing the plight of Soviet Jewry as a 'pet cause' of American Jews or apartheid a 'pet cause' of African Americans." But immense progress is being made, thanks to the efforts of the people whose stories Hertzke tells, among them the activist Michael Horowitz (who is Jewish), Nina Shea (Catholic) of Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom, and Virginia

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McCandlish Phillips in the New York Times newsroom, 1973

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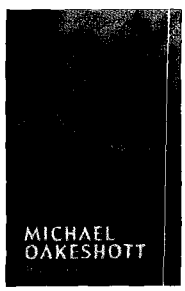
Republican congressman Frank Wolf (Presbyterian).

Hertzke, a professor of political science at the University of Oklahoma, gives a very detailed account of the lobbying effort in Congress for legislation to make religious freedom a higher priority in U.S. foreign policy. His book is an inspiring chronicle of faith's making a difference in public life, and of the beginnings of a movement whose significance has barely begun to be appreciated.

■ Some liberals cringe at what they consider the Hobbesian, dog-eat-dog version of capitalism that prevails in the United States, and they pine for what they view as the kinder, gentler capitalism prevalent in Europe. But Olaf Gersemann, a reporter for Germany's largest business weekly, has seen both types of capitalism up close, and has concluded that the American way is much better at delivering not just high productivity but also economic security. His new book, ***Cowboy Capitalism: European Myths, American Reality*** (Cato, 234 pp., $22.95), is rich in statistics that refute the conventional European (and American Left) wisdom about U.S. economic conditions. One typical left-wing gibe is that of German trade-union official Michael Sommer, who asserts that in America "employees need three or four jobs to feed themselves"; but Gersemann points out that, in fact, only 5.3 percent of employed Americans hold more than one job—and that this percentage has actually declined since the mid-1990s. And, against the "poor get poorer" rhetoric of income-distribution analysis, the author explains why economic "inequality doesn't equal injustice." His book is a helpful depiction of the real American economy—and a valuable corrective for any voter who believes we should turn toward the European model.

■ One of the strategic masterstrokes of the abortion-rights movement has been its presentation of the issue as one of men vs. women. What true gentleman, after all, could fail to be stirred by the plight of a member of the fairer sex, oppressed by a boorish patriarchy seeking to strip her of her human rights? In this, however—as in any struggle over moral issues—it's crucial to know who precisely is the David and who the Goliath. That's why it's so important when women come forward to testify that, in this case, the unborn children are the true underdogs requiring chivalrous protection. ***The Cost of "Choice": Women Evaluate the Impact of Abortion*** (Encounter, 180 pp., $17.95), edited by Erika Bachiochi, is an anthology of essays challenging the claim that a regime of abortion-on-demand benefits women. Among the distinguished contributors are historian Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Harvard law professor Mary Ann Glendon, and Feminists for Life president Serrin Foster.

■ ***Michael Oakeshott: An Introduction*** (Yale, 209 pp., $30), by Bowdoin professor Paul Franco, is a concise and readable assessment of the work of one of the 20th century's most important conservative philosophers. When Oakeshott died in 1990, the *Daily Telegraph* called him "the greatest political philosopher in the Anglo-Saxon tradition since Mill—or even Burke." His critique of utopianism and rationalism—as "the politics of perfection" combined with "the politics of uniformity," resulting in a socially harmful denial of "the epistemic value of practical or traditional knowledge"—continues to influence modern conservative thought.

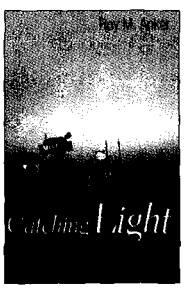


Oakeshott distrusted ideological politics because it turns government into "an instrument of passion"; the conservative impulse, in contrast, tries to leave the passion at the level of individuals and use the state as a moderator or referee. "It is not at all inconsistent," he wrote, "to be conservative in respect of government and radical in respect of almost every other activity."

■ As Americans' rage about health costs and medical bureaucracy continues to grow, we can expect the sentiment in favor of a Canada-style single-payer system to re-emerge. Anybody who is tempted by the Canada model should read ***Lives at Risk: Single-Payer National Health Insurance Around the World*** (Rowman & Littlefield, 263 pp., $22.95), by John C. Goodman, Gerald L. Musgrave, and Devon M. Herrick. The authors—affiliated with the valuable National Center for Policy Analysis—demonstrate that, in practice, socialized-medicine systems are debilitated by such problems as "rationing by waiting."

■ Daniel J. Flynn doesn't like cultishness: He believes that truth is best sought in a spirit of independent inquiry. Too often, the half-baked views of a political intellectual are swallowed whole by large numbers of people, and congeal into a dangerously influential orthodoxy. In his new book, ***Intellectual Morons: How Ideology Makes Smart People Fall for Stupid Ideas*** (Crown Forum, 292 pp., $25.95), Flynn aims at some pretty big left-wing targets, including Herbert Marcuse, Peter Singer, Howard Zinn, and Noam Chomsky, and debunks some of their most harmful ideas. But he also criticizes the influence of two right-of-center icons, Leo Strauss and Ayn Rand. His Strauss chapter is disappointing, echoing as it does the hackneyed far-Left and paleoconservative arguments against the Iraq war; the rest of the book is worth reading.

■ ***Catching Light: Looking for God in the Movies*** (Eerdmans, 410 pp., $20), by Roy M. Anker, analyzes religious themes in some landmark films, many of them—including *The Godfather* series, *Chinatown*, and *Star Wars*—from the golden age of 1970s Hollywood. Anker can be thought-provoking. I have often wondered, for example, how Steven Spielberg's movies can be transparently immature and—at the very same time—spiritually compelling. Anker writes: "What makes these tales religious is that, in all of them, Spielberg entertains the notion that, given general human flakiness, especially among adults, only the supernatural—specifically some transcendent compassionate Other—seems capable of finally satisfying [the] unfathomable human longing for intimacy."



To read Anker is to re-experience some memorable films from a new and discerning perspective. One highlight is his praise of the greatly misunderstood 1999 Oscar winner *American Beauty*, which, he writes, depicts "the divine blessedness of the ordinary": "For those who do note the religious substance at the core of this movie, the usual response has been to label

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it Zen Buddhist . . . [But the film] runs counter to central Buddhist teachings, which advise detachment from and rejection of the world. On the contrary, at the end of *American Beauty*, [Kevin Spacey's character] moves to embrace and adore the profound goodness that resides in the radiance of ordinary life."

■ Edwin M. Yoder Jr. is one of the best editorial writers of the past century, and his new memoir—***Telling Others What to Think: Recollections of a Pundit*** (Louisiana State, 245 pp., $34.95)—is a warm and welcome account of his life in and out of journalism. Particular highlights are the charming chapters about his Rhodes Scholar stint at Oxford in the 1950s, and about his friendship with famed editor Willie Morris. Yoder is correct in asserting that "there are no Mozarts of writing," but he has the important gift of making it *look* easy.

■ In ***The American Catholic Voter: 200 Years of Political Impact*** (St. Augustine's, 400 pp., $30), New York Conservative-party stalwart George J. Marlin offers a fascinating history of how U.S. Catholics evolved from an embattled minority group—an object of bigotry and discrimination—to a powerful electoral force. Marlin follows the twists and turns in Catholic political allegiance, through its years of support for the Democratic ticket to its current role as a swing bloc.

■ Kudos to Eerdmans. The Michigan publisher is filling an important need with ***Ancestral Shadows: An Anthology of Ghostly Tales*** (424 pp., $25), its generous new volume of gothic stories by conservative founding father Russell Kirk. The Sage of Mecosta saw his fiction as "experiments in the moral imagination"; this book, in bringing together 19 of the stories, will introduce a new generation of readers to a depth of spiritual insight, vivified by a true artist of the form.

■ Last but not least, a massive and winsome gift book: ***The Complete Cartoons of The New Yorker*** (Black Dog & Leventhal, 655 pp., $60), edited by Robert Mankoff. The book contains over 2,000 cartoons, and includes a two-CD set with *all 68,647* cartoons the magazine has published in its eight decades. A browser's delight. **NR**

■ CITY DESK ■

The Exhibitionist

RICHARD BROOKHISER

AUTUMN is the paradoxical season. Slowly, beautifully, the earth begins to close down. But the children of earth, roused from their vacations, want to start living. So kids go to college, the media offer new wares, and cultural institutions throw open their doors.

Every opening of a show at a museum, library, or gallery implies a beginning, which occurred at least a year earlier. Trustee made a summer phone call to writer, in his weekend dell. Trustee is a man of affairs, writer is a reliable post horse. But they share a special bond—both are fanatics, for they are passionately devoted to Subject, a statesman of the American past. Trustee asked if writer would curate a show on Subject, the bicentennial of whose death will occur a year hence. Writer considered, as is his wont, but love had already furnished the answer—yes.

People who come to a show expect to look at stuff. No problem with that, in theory, especially where Subject is concerned, for he was a logorrhetic, who wrote about everything from the rights of man to a woman he slept with (wrong woman—that's why he had to write about her). Subject also lived in New York, leaving a trail of paintings, busts, furniture, tchotchkes. Add in Subject's family, friends, and enemies—categories that embraced approximately everybody in

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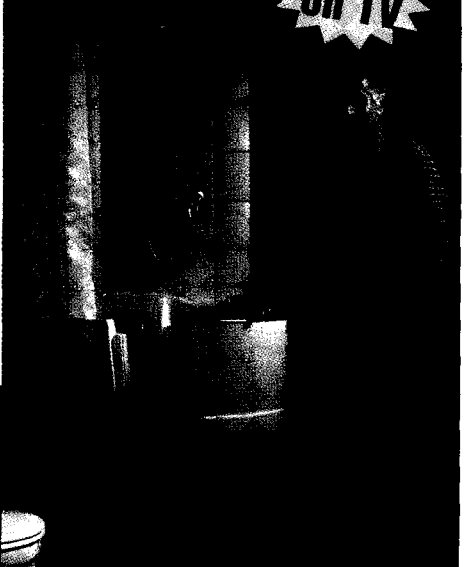

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(signed) Jason Ng, Circulation Manager, 9/27/04

the infant republic—and the potential trove of showable stuff, both documents and objects, becomes immense. But in order to get people into a show in the first place, the stuff has to be given a shape. Stack any collection of Ye Olde items in cabinets, as if on card tables in a yard sale, and you will get the retirees who are too smart for daytime television, and a few wretched, dragooned school groups. But if you want to bring in a larger public, you have to arrange your stuff—explaining why it is important, relating it to everyday life, making it tell a story. Writer's job is to provide that story—some fusion of a moving human document and a sleazy sales pitch. So the first six months are spent finding and cataloguing stuff, and thinking what it can possibly say.

The stuff comes in from hither and yon. August national institutions, local historical societies, corporations with the collecting instinct, hobbyists, lenders named Anon. all do their part. Curators reap, writer binds and stacks. By the spring of the year after trustee's first phone call, a fine harvest is in the making (none too soon, for the show opens in the fall). But now writer and his colleagues have to begin work on the add-ons that will bring sound and light. The cultural institution of your youth was a still and silent place. The Indian war canoe at the Museum of Natural History (described in *The Catcher in the Rye*) was the archetypal showpiece of an old-style exhibition. Tell that to your turntable and your typewriter. Today's potential show-goer can send home movies over his cellphone, and download Hollywood movies on his laptop. The Zen master, seeking to induce satori, has to give a high-tech thwack on the head. So there must be video feeds, interspersed with appropriate quotations from Subject; an introductory film with more quotations from Subject; an acoustiguide, with still more quotations from Subject. All these have to be scripted, shot, recorded. June, July fly past in orgies of studio time.

August is for installation. Cannonballs, coins, manacles, medals, old newspapers, *objets d'art* take their places. They are accompanied by glitches. One item in the show is a bust of Subject from an upstate museum, unaccompanied by any information beyond the name of the sculptor. When was it made? For whom? Google saves the day, providing enough data to make a little short story for the label. The master plan was to hang 35 portraits in one room. But somehow, between talk and action, the usable height of the walls has shrunk by two feet. The paintings get reshuffled into a different pattern. If kingdoms were truly lost for the want of nails, ours would be lost many times over. Yet nothing goes majorly wrong, and Labor Day is still days (?) away.

The seasons turn; only baseball and politics tussle with their spring/summer problems; it is time for the opening. But before the opening, there have to be previews. The first of these is for the press. The reporters gather in the two-foot-shorter room, surrounded by 70 eyes, for a little Q&A. One of Subject's many talents, it happens, was journalism. Deadlines, op-ed pieces, politics of personal destruction: He knew them all. Writer hits this angle hard. Subject also spent his youth in the Caribbean, so when the press conference ends in the late morning, the reporters are served rum, the breakfast of champions.

The second preview is a party for 750. Here at last is the missing ingredient, the final item—people. After a year of deviling over details, and speculating about traffic- and narrative-flow, the show and its projectors finally leave the realms of the particular and the abstract, and enter the boom and bustle of the general. Subject had his plans, we had ours; now everything goes into the world, to be interpreted as the world will. Subject would have liked the party, for he relished social life as only those who have scrambled up to it can. Wine is the chaser for the morning's rum. The food is copious, and good (we all remember unfondly parties where the hors d'oeuvres tasted like they came from the steam table at an Irish bar). The gift shop is open, so that guests can leave with books, T-shirts, and candle snuffers. The mayor, the governor, and the cabinet secretary who holds Subject's job 215 years later all appear, and say appropriate words into the busy din. As writer leaves, the block is lined with Lincoln town cars, waiting for the well heeled. Another opening, another show. **NR**

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on the right

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Iraq Milestone

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 21

WELL, Senator Kerry has now taken a position on whether we should have gone into Iraq. (No.) We must assume that that is his settled position, since he tried out all the variations of it before, so that he has now run out of options. Kerry said, on September 20, that knowing what we know now, we'd have done better not to have invaded.

I think he's right. If we could know that the war would come to an end at midnight, we could do a balance sheet.

—Lost, 1,100 American lives and $100 billion.

—Achieved, 1) the deposition of Saddam Hussein, 2) the formal liberation of the Iraqi people from a despotic reign, 3) assurance that whatever program was fancied to build weapons of mass destruction was aborted, and 4) the respect of the world for having seen our duty and acted on it.

But the war will not be over at midnight, we do not know when it will be over, and we do not know for sure what the scene in Iraq will be like when we are through.

A good subject for a seminar at the National War College would be: Was it a good idea to go to war in March 2003?

The affirmative will seek to carry the case by one simple proposition: If your intelligence informs you that an aggressive tyrant has in hand or prospectively in hand weapons of ultimate destructiveness, the U.S. has no alternative but to proceed by military intervention.

The negative would say: Unless there is reason to suspect an enemy timetable threatening action in days or weeks, one should deliberate alternatives to military intervention, including the possibility that the intelligence is defective.

That debate-seminar will be waged for decades, but not on the presidential election scene. President Bush can't acknowledge, while we are fighting day by day in Iraq, that the very reason for the military engagement is questionable. And Senator Kerry, having at last found a political roost, is not going to stray from it. So we are left with:

We shouldn't have.

We should have.

We need a program of withdrawal.

We have one. A graduated withdrawal is what we are effecting by staying the course.

Supporters of the war should feel free to acknowledge that if retrospective analysis is permitted, it is impossible to maintain that to have acted in March '03 was wise. But failure to justify the launching of the war does not discredit it. The French spring offensive in 1917 should never have been undertaken, but that didn't discredit the war. Field Marshal Montgomery's Bridge-Too-Far air attack of September 1944 was disastrous, but didn't impair the Allied rationale.

President Bush is saddled with a war the evolution of which he can't retroactively reshape. His difficulty will lie in telling the public what should now be done. But this is a difficulty Kerry also has. Who has an answer to how to save the next American hostage from decapitation? The leverage al-Zarqawi has over U.S. thought and feeling is blindingly exploited by the simple sadism of the blindfolded hostage and the executioner's axe. What is to be done about that? Why is it taking so long to try Saddam? Do they really need a thousand witnesses in order to establish his guilt? Why not schedule his beheading to coincide with the next beheading of an American hostage?

There is nothing Kerry can do in the campaign to persuade a majority of voters that the way to compensate for mistakes of the past generated by unreliable intelligence is to abandon an enterprise to which we are morally committed. Abandoning Vietnam is a historic deed we have yet to reconcile with U.S. idealism. We handle that problem by the expedient of not thinking about it. But Iraq is a mind-filling challenge that can't be made to disappear.

Democracy Ahead?

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 24

PRIME MINISTER ALLAWI of Iraq has entered a huge theoretical question into the picture. What, he asked, in visiting with President Bush, would happen if indeed there was not full participation in the elections scheduled for January? So it's an imperfect world. One has to get on with what one has.

The generality is easily communicable. Everything of this world is worldly. Still, a democratic exercise presupposes comprehensiveness in at least one dimension. It may be that, as within the United States for about one hundred years, the black vote was undercounted. But there was never an election in which specified geographic areas were disfranchised. If you insist that the validation of democracy requires a vote by the entire community of voters, you run into an immediate problem, inasmuch as less than one half the eligible voters—in the U.S.—actually vote; so that the political exercise isn't a clinically established confirmation of the people's will.

But Dr. Allawi is venturing very far from that kind of cavil. When the Constitution of the United States was up for ratification, the language specified that when nine of the states had signed on, the government of the U.S. would be promulgated—never mind those states that had not ratified. Thus, North Carolina, Rhode Island, and Vermont were left free, in 1789, to make their own arrangements, while the new constitution had sway over its constituent members.

It sounds, in theory, perfectly reasonable. Dr. Allawi enumerated: There are 18 provinces in Iraq, and "14 to 15 are completely safe." Three are "pockets of terrorists." And they, of course, seek to subvert Islamic self-rule elsewhere.

The analysis ran head-on into political criticism from Senator Kerry. His point being in two parts, the first that the situation is so fluid, it can't be predicted what would be the affirmative provincial constituency of the new Iraqi government. The second, that the insurgents are growing in power and that neither Dr. Allawi, nor the U.S., has devised reliable means of stopping this. President Bush

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took the occasion to repeat that if in the estimate of commanders on the scene more troops were needed to maintain order, more troops would be dispatched.

Meanwhile, the internal political scene is agitated. Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, who is the unchallenged leader of the Shiite community, professes dissatisfaction with electoral arrangements, but is interpreted as saying that any election that fails to return a Shiite majority can't faithfully reflect reality, inasmuch as the Shiites now constitute 60 percent of the population. But Shiite ascendancy is done at the cost of the Sunni, who, through the Baath Saddamite wing, exercised power for so many years. The quarrel is over the electoral ballot, with precedence being given to those names that appear higher on the list of candidates. But in order to influence or effect any redesign, political power must be exercised, and the betting is that al-Sistani will not boycott the election, since that would result in eliminating, or reducing, Shiite influence on the outcome.

It pays to remind ourselves that working democracies depend for their existence on one thing, one thing alone. It is the submission of the minority. When that isn't forthcoming, as in the U.S. in 1860, confederations break apart.

Dr. Allawi eloquently described the historical narrative. "I stand here today as the prime minister of a country emerging finally from dark ages of violence, aggression, corruption and greed." His devout hope is that Iraq can move forward from its past, but to succeed, the insurgents need to be discredited and neutered, and the great surviving units must ratify a constitution from which no province can abstain, and which, above all, divides church and state.

And the Winner Is . . .

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 1

I was listening to Rush Limbaugh Thursday morning, and he said, "Folks, you want to know about the debate tonight? Well, you don't have to bother to tune in. What will be reported on Friday morning is that John Kerry walked away with it."

Well, that's not exactly the unanimous verdict, but it's true that Kerry scored. There were two reasons for this, one personal, the other objective.

Kerry was presentable, polite, informed, combative, and credible. Those who felt that he would crumble waited out the 90 minutes without gratification. He is quick on his feet, his formulations were well rehearsed, and he did as best he could athwart his past contradictions. There was even an apology of sorts for his rotational thoughts on the aid bill to Iraq. Yes, he said, it's true that I used awkward language in defending what I did, that was my mistake. President Bush's mistake was in going to war. Neatly done, and effective in redirecting attention from his own lapse, to the lapse of George Bush, which is after all the gravamen of Kerry's case against Bush.

There wasn't any notable felicity in language. Kerry is a verbalist, but not a belletrist. This was not Adlai Stevenson talking, but someone who seeks to be president and persuasively suggests himself as qualified.

The objective factor working for Mr. Kerry the other night was the indecisiveness of events in Iraq. The day of the debate, over 40 Iraqis had been killed in one of the largest terrorist acts in the war, and U.S. soldiers had been wounded.

President Bush sought his way out of that charnel house by indirect references to the progress we are making, and direct references to the inflexibility of the goal ahead, which, he said often, was freedom for the Iraqi people. Freedom they were entitled to, freedom they aspired to, and freedom of a kind that would affect the region and ultimately, the world itself.

Bush can be defended in the sense that courage and determination can be defended. But Kerry was able to say things which have become pretty self-evident. He did not say that, in Iraq, we were headed for defeat, but he suggested that a different course of action was necessary.

Ah! A different course of action. Like simply pulling out?

No no. Mr. Kerry reminded us, lest we have forgotten it in the 15 minutes that have gone by since last he referred to it, that he knew what it was to fight for his country inasmuch as he had done so.

Well, what then?

His answer: Another approach to our allies. Bringing them in by a new attitude of cooperation. Reopening a door to the resources of the U.N. Scheduling one or more summit conferences to make our venture in Iraq more comprehensive. Energizing the morale of the American people by improving the prospect of their own lives. Etc. etc.

Mr. Bush attempted here and there to challenge any soft assumptions encouraged by this vague agenda. He was able to recall how many times we had moved our case before the U.N., and to cite expressions of hopeful joy by Iraqis, notably the prime minister, at the prospects of a new national life without Saddam.

But he was not able to dismiss Kerry's objections by any resonant plea of manifest destiny or whatever. The audience was certainly prepared to believe that Iraqis would enjoy freedom. But people know that freedom is frequently abjured, in preference for something else. The commentator who remarked that there was a kind of stability in Husseinland, for which there is nostalgia, was devastatingly correct. Back then, if Hussein didn't imprison, torture, or shoot you, you were left relatively snug in the ambit of your little world.

What the terrorists are succeeding in accomplishing is a quite general despondency. This is owing to the dramatic danger of associating yourself with the interim government, which, it is preached, is representative of the infidel invader, the U.S. To sign up with the police, to engage in construction work, to cooperate in any markedly observable way with the Iraqi government puts you in dire peril of kidnapping, mayhem, and death.

President Bush does not have an easily saleable vision of what to do with that cursed dilemma. It transpires, gradually, that we are relying on the Iraqi people to effect their liberation, because we simply aren't up to it.

And Kerry was there to say: Let me try it, I'm somebody else. And that got a lot of people to opine that that is a winnable program.

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"You may as well get used to it, son—the really neat stuff is always unconstitutional."

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happy warrior

MARK STEYN

Of Kerry, Cellphones, and War

With only a couple of weeks to go, Campaign 2004 feels less like a post-9/11 election and more like a pre-World War II one, something from the mid-Thirties. As Winston Churchill said about Stanley Baldwin, Britain's "safety first" prime minister, "He occasionally stumbled over the truth, but hastily picked himself up and hurried on as if nothing had happened." That's what much of the Democratic leadership has been doing these last two years.

Churchill and Baldwin both liked to paint and, addressing the Royal Academy, the former observed of the latter, "I would say his work lacked a little in color, and was also a little lacking in the precise definition of objects . . . Making a fair criticism, I must admit there is something very reposeful about the half-tones of his twilight studies." Churchill's "fair criticism" is an excellent summation of John Kerry's foreign policy.

Kerry's position is that the reassuring props of the September 10 landscape are all still there—the U.N., the EU, the Quai d'Orsay, the Arab League. All that's required is a skilled artist to blur everything together again in half-toned nuance. How reposeful it all sounds.

It is possible to criticize Bush's conduct of the war. The political calendar has relegated too much to the backburner—Iran, North Korea. The reorganization of the American military proceeds too slowly; many other parts of the government are impervious to any kind of meaningful reorganization; and some—State, CIA—are more or less openly fulfilling the same internal-sabotage role that Pakistan's ISI does for General Musharraf. The grim tenure of Paul Bremer's ad hoc Coalition Provisional Authority suggests to some of us that Washington urgently needs its own British-style Colonial Office—whoa, relax, don't worry, we won't call it that, we'll give it some wussified milquetoast handle like "Department of Global Community Outreach." It would be a team trained to do what the U.N. was supposed to do in Kosovo, Cambodia, and elsewhere before it decided that underage prostitution rings and drug smuggling were more lucrative.

The point is that one can plausibly itemize Bush's defects as a war president, but one cannot plausibly tout Kerry as the alternative. He's Mister

Complacency—a man for whom the reality of the Oil-for-Fraud racket, Franco-Russo-German complicity with Saddam, and rapid demographic change in Europe cannot diminish the potency of sappy buzzwords like "summits" and "allies" and "global test."

A year ago, an item in the Arabic press caught my eye. Khartoum had been swept by mass panic prompted by tales of infidels' shaking hands with the local menfolk, causing their, ah, manhoods to disappear. As the London paper *Al-Quds Al-Arabi* put it, "He shook the store owner's hand powerfully until the owner felt his penis melt into his body." The Sudanese attorney general said not to worry, all missing penises would be investigated by a special government committee. What struck me about the story was a detail: The hysteria was spread by cellphones and text messaging. Think about that: You can own a cellphone yet still believe a foreigner's handshake can melt away your penis. What happens when that kind of technologically advanced primitivism goes beyond text messaging?

There was another story about cellphones in the paper the other day. Not Khartoum this time. The *Times* of London reports that "mobile phones are being used by young Muslims living in Britain to watch videos of hostages being beheaded by militants in Iraq." "This is the best use of this phone," said "an Algerian in his thirties who has lived in London for almost ten years" and has collected the entire set of snuff videos on his cell. "Most of the people in this country are using it to download pictures of naked women. For us the jihad is alive in our hands as we watch American infidels get their heads chopped off . . . Within a few minutes of the Americans' dying last week I was watching them on my phone. The Englishman should not have been there," he added, referring to Kenneth Bigley. "He will be beheaded and I can tell you I will see it here on my phone."

The power of the great central image in Conrad's *The Secret Agent*—the lone terrorist pacing the streets of London with a bomb strapped to his chest—lies in the bomber's isolation from the tides of shoppers and commuters and street vendors around him, all blissfully unaware. But that's not the world we live in. It's not black (the bomber) and white (the rest); there are a lot of shades in between. The terrorist bent on destruction paces the streets, while around him is a much larger number of people eager to watch his handiwork on their cellphones, and beyond that an even larger number too squeamish about ethno-cultural matters to confront that reality, and beyond that a political establishment desperate to pretend this is just a managerial problem.

To correct everything that's currently going awry in the war will require tremendous will, at home and abroad. Is that the characteristic one associates with Senator Kerry? "Reposeful" isn't an option. **NR**

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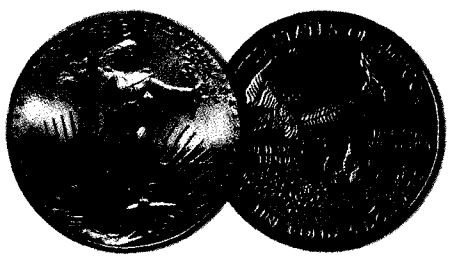

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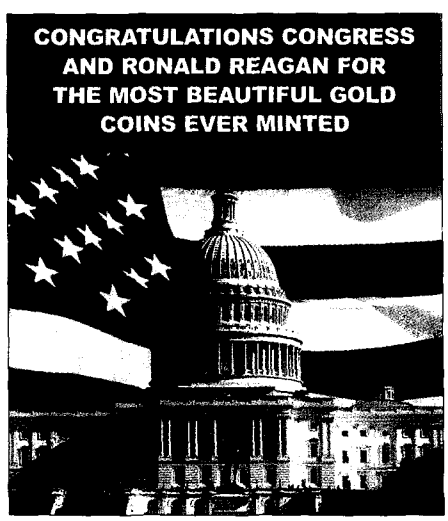

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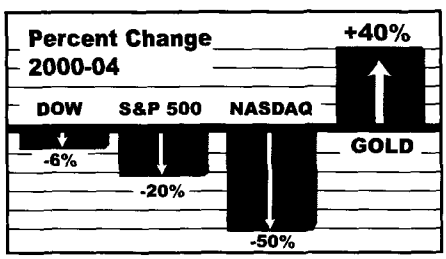
GOLD OUTPACES THE DOW, NASDAQ AND S&P 500



Trusting your financial future to the stock market's performance has been a bad situation for the past 5 years. In fact, the above graph clearly shows that not only the DOW, but the S&P 500 and NASDAQ are all down from January 2000. Gold, on the other hand, is up 34% since January 2000. If you had purchased $50,000 worth of Gold in January 2000, that same gold would be worth $67,000 today – a profit of $17,000. Most stocks cannot even come close to that gain. The Gold Market is on the move and is showing signs of taking off like a rocket. Many experts can offer excellent insight into the future price trends of Gold, but no one, including The United States Rare Coin and Bullion Reserve, can guarantee a Gold Coin's future value will go up or down. Do not wait to move your hard earned money out of stocks and into Gold.

WHY TO BUY GOLD NOW

- **Gold has outperformed the Stock Market for the past 5 years in a row.**
- **Smart individuals are moving 20-30% of their assets into U.S. Gov't Gold Coins.**
- **$50,000 in U.S. Gov't Gold Coins could be worth up to $250,000 in the future.**
- **With the National Debt at $7 Trillion and rising, Gold has an upside potential that has not been seen since the 1980's.**
- **A limit of 10 U.S Gov't Gold Coins per customer will be strictly adhered to. Offer may be withdrawn at any time.**
- **Special arrangements can be made for Gold orders over $50,000.**

MASTER CARD • VISA • AMEX
DISCOVER • CHECK

BEGINNING TODAY, TELEPHONE ORDERS WILL BE ACCEPTED ON A FIRST-COME, FIRST-SERVE BASIS ACCORDING TO TIME AND DATE OF THE ORDER!

Minimum Order 5 Gold Coins

1 – 2003 Gov't Issue Gold Coin	$ 46.00
5 – 2003 Gov't Issue Gold Coins	$ 230.00
10 – 2003 Gov't Issue Gold Coins	$ 460.00

SPECIAL AT COST OFFER LIMITED TO PURCHASES OF $460.00 OR LESS PLUS SHIPPING AND INSURANCE.

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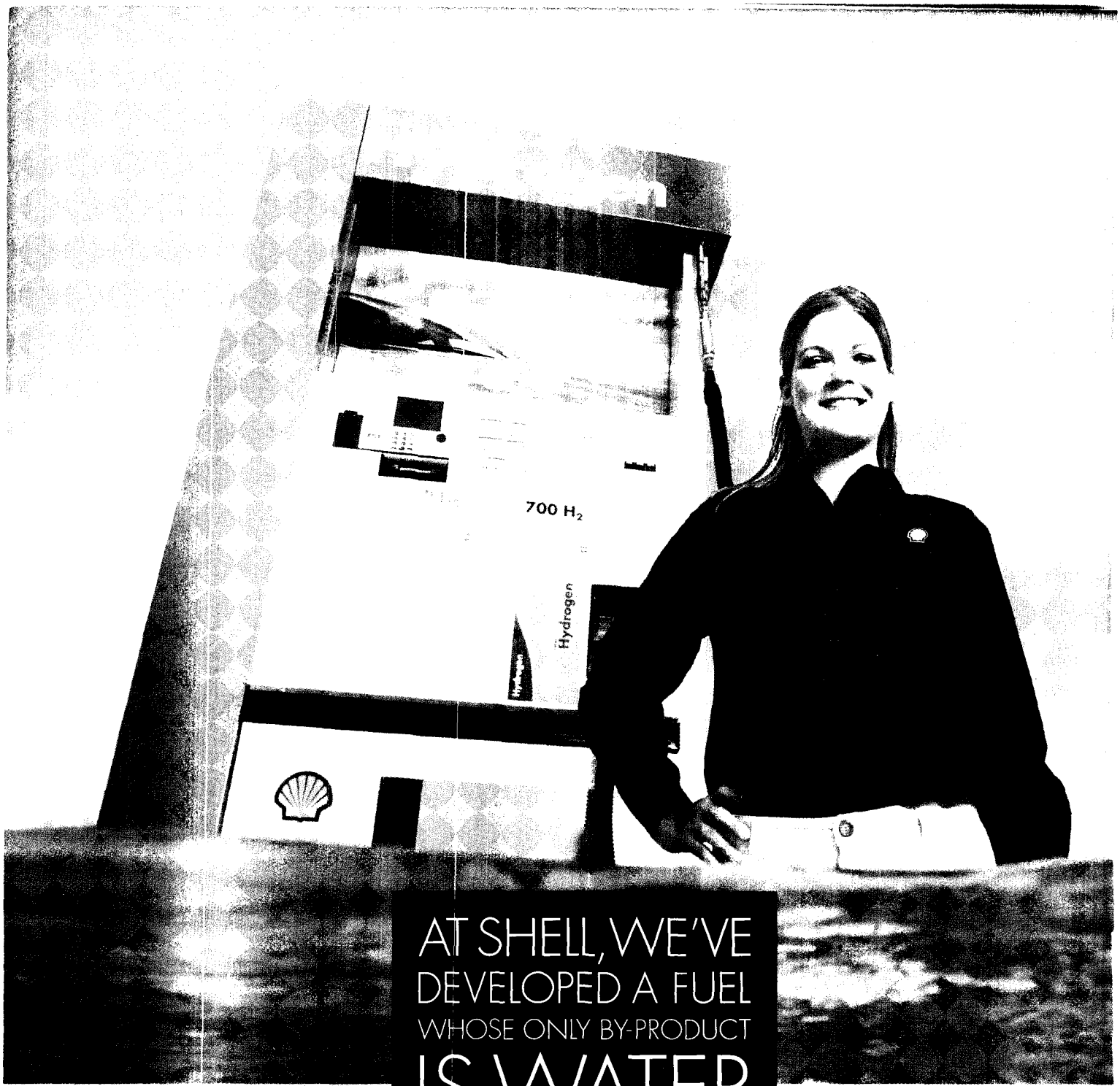

AT SHELL, WE'VE DEVELOPED A FUEL WHOSE ONLY BY-PRODUCT IS WATER. HOW REFRESHING.

The promise of hydrogen is exciting, but commercial viability is a long-term prospect. At Shell there's progress toward the promise, thanks to a commitment to make the hydrogen economy a reality.

Key to this progress are strategic relationships with leading companies like General Motors and people like Kristin Andrichik, Business Development Advisor with Shell Hydrogen (U.S.). Kristin works to capitalize on Shell leadership in fueling technologies and GM's expertise in vehicle technology to determine the best path toward the commercialization.

The centerpiece of this union is the nation's first hydrogen refueling dispenser at a retail site, which supports a fleet of GM hydrogen fuel cell vehicles.

Ultimately, commercialization will depend on individuals choosing hydrogen. And through the efforts of Kristin and others like her, Shell is ready to meet those needs.

Visit www.shell.com/newenergies for details on this and other Shell activities.

"Shell Hydrogen" refers to a global business of the Royal Dutch/Shell Group and consists of separate companies set up to pursue and develop business opportunities related to hydrogen and fuel cells.

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